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THE
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A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE PAST.



*Instructed by the Antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.*

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.



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The Antiquary.



JANUARY, 1884.

History and Development of the House.—PART I.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THEN the series of articles on the History and Development of the House, commenced in the present number with a description of the Hall, the title need not be considered as in any way tautological, for the history is by no means synonymous with the development. The general arrangement of the ordinary house continued the same for several centuries, and it was only when the taste for luxury had become more widely spread abroad a little time before the Renaissance that a very considerable structural alteration was made.

The habitations of the Ancient Britons were little better than huts, though there was doubtless a considerable difference among the various tribes, some of these being much more advanced in civilization than others. Where wood was abundant, the walls of the houses were made of stakes and wattling, like hurdles; and in stony districts large stones were laid on each other without mortar. Some huts were hollowed out of the hills, and in marshy places the villages were built upon piles. Some of these piles have been discovered where excavations have been made in certain parts of London; but we cannot be sure whether they were driven by the Britons, or by an earlier race who preceded them as inhabitants of this island.

Roman villas in Britain were built upon the same plan as those which the owners had been used to in their native country; for the Roman, like the Englishman does now, carried his own architecture with him, quite

regardless of its adaptability to the climate of the place where he introduced it. The materials used by the Romans were chiefly bricks and stone; but it is by no means improbable that some of the superstructures raised upon the walls that have been discovered many feet below the level of our present streets were built of wood. The general ground plan of the Roman house consisted of one or more large courts with buildings grouped round them; and in India a plan very similar is still largely followed. Sir George Birdwood, when commenting lately upon Mr. Purdon Clarke's description of the domestic architecture of India, pointed out this obvious similarity, and accounted for it partly by the fact that the Greeks and Romans were offshoots of the same primitive Aryan race as the Vedic Hindus who entered India about B.C. 3000.* Although the Romans remained in Britain for several centuries, their architecture did not take root in this country, and when they retired, domestic life again returned to a state of barbarism. It is now the fashion to chant the praises of the Saxon; but in respect to his surroundings, his civilization was but a slight advance over that of the Briton before the Roman came here. Mr. Wright, however, held that the Roman villa was often changed into the great Saxon mansion, and that Lord Lytton's description in *Harold* of the Saxonized Roman house inhabited by Hilda is quite truthful.

Among the chief sources we possess for the construction of a mental picture of a Saxon house, are (1) the remains that have been excavated; (2) the descriptions of poets, and (3) the illuminations in old manuscripts. Now the teachings of each of these alone must be received with caution. The first source requires considerable knowledge in the person who attempts to explain the remains; the second source is frequently so full of imagination as to be almost untruthful; and the third source supplies us with pictures which are often as trivial as those of the poets are fanciful. When, however, the three sources are carefully collated and made to illustrate each other, we are able to obtain a trustworthy picture of the life of our forefathers. The Anglo-Saxon epic of *Beowulf* contains

* *Journal of the Society of Arts*, June 8th, 1883, vol. xxxi, p. 743.

a description of the magnificent house which Hrothgar commands his men to build for him. The roof, which rises to a great height, is carved with pinnacles, and variegated with gold.

Everyone must remember the brilliant description of the house of Cedric the Saxon which Sir Walter Scott gives in *Ivanhoe*. It may be incorrect in a few of its details, but as a whole it gives us an excellent idea of the large rambling habitation of a Saxon gentleman. Although the time chosen by Scott is after the Conquest, the description will suit equally a period one or two centuries before. The palaces of Alfred, and of our other early kings, were apparently little different from those of their subjects, being wooden buildings formed of timber wattled together after



FIG. 1.—ANGLO-NORMAN HOUSE.

the manner of hurdles. That Alfred's palace was not air-tight, we learn from the anecdote of the burning of his candle. The Normans changed the aspect of the towns and country by erecting castles and other large buildings; but the dwellings of the masses appear to have remained old timber houses as before. In the year 1189 we learn from the City Records that an attempt was made to enforce building with stone, but without effect.

The illustration annexed (fig. 1) is copied from a MS. of the latter half of the twelfth century in the British Museum, and is intended by the artist to represent King Arthur's palace. The door is ornamented with elaborate hinges, lock, and knocker, and the window of the hall is distinguished by its architectural design,

The window with the grating belongs to Queen Guinevere's chamber, and the man tearing away the grating is Sir Lancelot. Immediately above is the window of the soler, or upper room. This was intended to represent a superior house, for the roof is most elaborately tiled, and the ornaments were handsome, and yet this was the whole of the accommodation. The Queen informed Lancelot that the wall between the hall and her chamber was so weak and dilapidated in one part that he could easily get through; but he preferred to break open the grating, and obtain entrance immediately from the outside.

In the thirteenth century there was a great improvement in the construction of castles. The apartments were more convenient, and fine windows were fixed in the upper rooms, although these always looked inwards to the court. In the reign of Edward I. a new era commenced, and the fortress and palace were combined.

In the fourteenth century rooms were multiplied, and conveniences not dreamt of before were added; but still these rooms were only imperfectly protected against the weather. In the fifteenth century castellated houses increased largely all over the country, and the town houses or inns of the nobility were enlarged, so as to accommodate four, five, or even six hundred men. Probably an enlarged size of the ordinary London houses was due to the requirements of trade; thus it was at one time a proverbial characteristic of an avaricious and inhospitable person to shut the hall and live in the soler; but in London the ground floor was appropriated to purposes of business, and the principal apartments and sleeping-rooms were necessarily driven to the upper floors. Cellars, entered by a staircase from the street, and large lofts in the gabled roofs, were afterwards added. When the timber houses had grown into the old beetle-browed buildings, with their quaint carved beams, numerous specimens of which we meet with in different parts of the country—they were constructed in many different ways—some were entirely of timber; others, half timber houses, had their ground floors of stone or brick, and the upper portions only of wood.

The following description of the houses of

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is taken from a valuable paper on Timber Houses by Mr. Charles Baily (*Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv., 1869, p. 253):—

In the southern districts of England the old English manor-houses, the homes of the gentry generally, as well as those of the better class of the yeomanry, were very simple in the plan, and very often exhibited a singular uniformity of design. In the centre was the hall, at the end of one side of which was the principal entrance to the house, a portion of the hall being cut off by a screen, to form a passage through the house from the front entrance to that at the back, which was directly opposite. On the side of this passage (known by the name of "the entry," and sometimes called the "screens"), and opposite to the screen were generally three doorways, as at Crowhurst Place, the seat of the Gaynesfords; sometimes, however, there were but two, as is the case at Great Tangley, in the parish of Womersley, in Surrey. In both these examples the first of these doors opens into a parlour; at Crowhurst the second leads to a staircase, and the third to the butteries, kitchen, and to the whole of the domestic offices.

In the screen were two openings, without doors, through which the hall was entered. Beyond the upper or dais end of the hall were one or several rooms, of a more private character than either the parlour or hall; the sleeping-rooms were generally in the upper storeys. Externally there was usually a recess in the centre of the front, formed by one side of the hall, as we find was the case in the house of Great Tangley, as originally built. At either end of this central recess was a gabled projection; the one forming a porch over the entrance, the other a bay-window to the hall. Beyond these were two larger gabled ends; one enclosing the parlour and offices, the other the more private rooms before noticed.

Stephen Hawes, in his *Passe-tyme of Pleasure, or the Historie of Graunde Amoure and la Bel Pucel*, which was finished about the beginning of the year 1506, gives a most gorgeous description of an imaginary castle. In the court Graunde Amoure drinks water of a most transcendent fragrance from a magnificent fountain whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates. He enters a hall framed of jasper, with windows of crystal, a roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes were represented by rubies, a floor paved with beryl, and walls hung with rich tapestry.

In the sixteenth century one of the greatest changes was made in the construction of country houses, and this was the placing of the chief apartments on the upper floor. In consequence of this change the staircase became the principal feature of the house for the first time, Henry VIII. added a gate-

house of approach, and in his reign an enormous stride was made in the beauty and comfort of the great houses. In the Tudor style were produced a large number of mansions, whose beauty has never been surpassed; and, fortunately, many of them remain to our own day dotted about the country. They are justly considered as monuments, of which every Englishman should be proud, showing as they do that at one time at least in our history we could produce architects who were the equals of those of any other country.

Harrison, in his *Description of England* (1577—1587), gives a curious chapter on "The Building and Furniture of our Homes," which is very instructive. Among other things he says—

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber (in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthilie preferred before those of the like science among all other nations). Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are commonlie either of bricke or hard stone (or both); their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as provision may best be made, but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron doth often match (in our daies) with some honours of princes in old time. So that if ever curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruvius, (Leo Baptista) and Serlio.

The countryman of Thorpe might well say this.

The introduction has exacted so much space that I shall have to curtail somewhat the particulars relating to the special department which is to be described in the present number, viz.,—

THE HALL

For many centuries, the hall remained the chief apartment of the house, where all met, the other rooms being mere appendages to it. Here the family lived, and here many of its members slept: the more important on benches, and servants on the floor. There was a sleeping room for the master and mistress, which they frequently shared with favoured visitors, and sometimes more rooms for the ladies of the family, which were called bowers. In Norman times, the word bower was to some extent superseded by chamber. We have already seen how scant the accom-

modation was in the ancient house, and another illustration (fig. 2) will show this even more vividly. King Arthur is talking with Lancelot apart in the chamber, while his knights are waiting for him in the hall. The artist has not represented very skilfully the position of the door, which should open from the chamber into the hall.

The hall was the great scene of hospitality, where visitors, however strange, were always made welcome. Again it is necessary to refer to the scene in Cedric's hall, as described in *Ivanhoe*, where as well as the jovial prior and the templar, the despised Jew found a place. So ever-present was this view of the



FIG. 2.—KING ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS.

importance of hospitality that the reason given in *Beowulf* for the building of a house by Hrothgar, was that he might have a "mead hall," where he could distribute his wealth to young and old.

Bede gives a vivid picture of the hall when he relates how one of King Edwin's chieftains spoke in the discussion as to the reception to be given to the missionary Paulinus :—

The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad, the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and immediately out at another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair

weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he had emerged.*

The Norman hall did not differ in essentials from the Saxon hall, but it was built in a more solid manner and with greater attention to architectural effect. It also became the practice to build the hall of stone while the rest of the house remained of wood. The massive timber roof was independent of the walls, and Hallam likens it to the inverted hull of a large ship.

In his remarks on the halls of the twelfth and thirteenth century, Mr. Hudson Turner says :—

The roof of the hall, when too large to be covered by a roof of a single span, was supported according to its size on one or more ranges of pillars of wood or stone. Marble columns for the king's hall at Clarendon are mentioned in an account of the year 1176. Necham says, "In the hall let there be pillars at due intervals." Sometimes there appears to have been only one range of such supports, which extending longitudinally through the room, reached to and carried the ridge or crest of the roof. But halls were frequently divided by pillars and arches of wood or stone into three parts or aisles, like a church.†

Mr. Turner also says that probably :—

The only respect in which the houses of our early kings differed from the ordinary manor houses of the time was that they were on a greater scale, and had also a chapel annexed to them.

Mr. Parker writes of the next century :—

Little alteration was made in the hall during the fourteenth century. It usually occupied the whole of the central part of the house, sometimes from the ground to the roof; in other instances there were cellars or low rooms under it, and sometimes a kind of vestibule with a vaulted ceiling carried on a series of pillars and arches, as at Raby, and in the bishop's palace at Wells.‡

What were the characteristics of the halls of the fifteenth century we may judge for ourselves by visiting the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, where the halls are used as of old. After the fifteenth century the glory of the hall departed.

We are dealing with the house, and the consideration of the form of the castle does not come within the scope of this inquiry, except in so far as the castle was a dwelling-house. As already pointed out, when the country became more settled the castles were made more comfortable, and in the fourteenth century large arched windows were introduced

* *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II., chap. xiii.

† *Domestic Architecture in England*, i. 4.

‡ *Domestic Architecture* (Parker), ii. 34.

into the halls. Turning to the opposite end of the social ladder, we find the cottage described as consisting usually of two apartments, one devoted to the pigs, the cow, and the poultry; and the other, in which all the peasant's family were huddled together; but in this they were little worse off than their successors in more highly civilized periods. Chaucer describes in his *Nun's Priest's Tale* the cottage of a widow as consisting of two rooms, one called the hall and the other the bower. The widow and her two daughters slept in the bower, and the poultry roosted on a perch in the hall, on the floor of which the pigs made themselves comfortable.

The hall was entered through a porch, and over the screen was a gallery for the min-

traine; and if it please her Majesty she may come in through my gallery, and see the disposition of the hall, at a window opening thereunto.*

The fire was kindled on a hearth of tiles or bricks in the middle of the hall, and the smoke, after filling the apartment, finally escaped through a hole in the roof, over which a small covered tower, with open sides, was erected, to keep out the rain. This was called the *louvre*, from the old French *Pouvert*. When the *louvre* was no longer required for its original purpose, it was glazed, and became a mere ornament to the roof. There were advantages in placing the fire in the middle of the hall, as it caused a very general diffusion of heat, and as wood or charcoal was used instead of coal, the smoke was



FIG. 3.—THE DAIS.

strels. The passage, at one end of which was the principal entrance, and at the other the back-door opening into the servants' court, was (as previously explained) called the entry, or the screens, and was frequently only separated from the hall by a curtain. Sometimes there were small lattice windows in the wall between the hall and some of the upper rooms, and at the manor house of Great Chatfield, in Wiltshire, stone masks of a king and a bishop are inserted in the walls, through the eyes and mouths of which a view of the hall can be obtained. Archbishop Parker, on the occasion of entertaining Queen Elizabeth at a banquet at Lambeth, writes:—

If her Highness will give me leave I will kepe my bigger hall that day for the nobles, and the rest of her

not unbearable, in fact it helped to make the houses less unhealthy than they would otherwise have been. On the other hand, the old writers often refer to the sootiness of the rooms, and the soreness of eyes caused by the smoke and smother. Mr. J. H. Parker says that fires continued to be made on a hearth in the middle of the hall, called the *reredos*, in many college halls in Oxford and Cambridge until about 1820, and in Westminster College Hall until 1850.† Chimneys did not come into use until the fifteenth century, and Scott is therefore wrong in introducing them into the hall of Cedric the Saxon.

The floor of the hall was either of stone or

* *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv., p. 257.

† *Domestic Architecture in England*, ii. 39 (note).

of tiles, which was covered with straw or rushes. In the fifteenth century great improvements were made in the flooring, and the hall was paved with tiles of various colours, so as to form ingenious patterns.

Attention must now be given to the most important feature of the hall, viz., the dais. This was the high table for distinguished guests, placed lengthways across the end of the hall opposite the entrance, and usually on a raised platform. In the centre was the seat of the lord, sometimes a separate chair or throne, but more commonly a long settee was placed at the end of the hall, sometimes fixed against the wall. At Crowhurst the

sixteenth century, however, a change was made, and both sides of the tables were occupied. These tables were sometimes fixed, but more often they were merely long planks of timber placed on trestles, which could easily be removed. As old Capulet cries,—

You are welcome, gentlemen! Come, musicians, play.
A hall, a hall! give room, and foot it, girls.
More light, ye knaves; and turn the tables up.

In a vocabulary of the fifteenth century the ordinary furniture of the hall is enumerated as follows:—

A board, a trestle, a banker, a dorser, a natte (table



FIG. 4.—THE MINSTREL IN THE HALL.

floor of the hall was not raised at the end;* and at Hampton Court there does not appear to have been a dais at all, because there is a large chamber behind the upper end of the hall, which is still hung with the original tapestry of the time of Henry VIII.† Fig. 3 shows the usual form of dais, with the tapestry behind. The other tables were ranged down the sides of the hall, and the settees were placed against the wall. The guests only sat on the one side, and on the other side was free space for the servants. In the

cloth), a table dormant, a basin, a laver, fire on the hearth, a brand or torch, a yule block, an andiron, tongs, a pair of bellows, wood for the fire, a long settle, a chair, a bench, a stool, a cushion, and a screen.*

The board is the original of the more modern cupboard, and was at one time simply a board on legs, spread with a cloth, for the purpose of displaying plate, and other valuables. A locker was subsequently attached to it, as a safe depository for the property when not in use; and it was called a buffet. This board is seen in fig. 4, where also is

* *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. iv., p. 284.

† *Domestic Architecture*, iii., p. 54.

* *Wright's Volume of Vocabularies*, p. 197.

shown the permanent or dormant table. The gentleman and lady are seated on a bench with a back, and the wandering minstrel is allowed to seat himself, without ceremony or suspicion, on a stool by the fire.

At the end of the fourteenth century the bay window became a feature of the hall. It was usually placed at one end of the dais, and sometimes there was one at each end. The walls of the old houses were filled in with loam and clay, which frequently required reparation. Hangings were therefore a necessity, and universally used. This is very clearly brought before us when Hamlet says—

Imperious Cæsar, dead, and turn'd to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away;
O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw."

Dining in hall began to decline somewhat in the fourteenth century, and was more often relinquished in the fifteenth century, except by lovers of time-honoured customs. Still, although the taste for domestic privacy increased, and the chief guests dined in another room, the hall continued in the sixteenth century to hold its position as a place for general hospitality. In the seventeenth century its decay was complete, and the great hall began to be appropriated to its modern purpose of a mere entrance. During these centuries popular writers never ceased to inveigh against the decay of hospitality, and these complaints culminated in the ballad of *The Old and Young Courtier*—

With an old hall hung about with pikes, guns, and
bows,
With old swords and bucklers that had borne many
shrewde blows,
And a cup of old sherry to comfort his copper nose;
Like an old courtier of the queen's,
And the queen's old courtier.

Here is the other side—

With a new-fashioned hall, built where the old one
stood,
Hung round with new pictures that do the poor no
good,
With a fine marble chimney wherein burns neither
coal nor wood,
And a new smooth shovel-board whereon no vidual
ne'er stood;
Like a young courtier of the king's,
And the king's young courtier.

Writers laid all the blame upon the rich,

but the moving cause was the change in the constitution of society. The recollection of serfdom had died away, and greater independence of character among the class which had in former times enjoyed the hospitality of the nobles, combined with their improved condition, made them less willing to accept it. In spite of all that poets could write, the public life of the hall was dead, never to be revived.

In the seventeenth century, the hall being no longer required, it became a frequent practice to supersede it by a poor lobby. Where, however, the old hall remained it has continued to be used occasionally as a place of festivity, and, as an admirable instance, may be mentioned the fact that until the present year, when a new ball-room has been erected at Sandringham, the Prince and Princess of Wales have always used the hall of their house as a ball-room.



On the Study of Coins.

BY REGINALD STUART POOLE, OF THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.



IF all antiquities coins are the smallest; yet, as a class, the most authoritative in record, and the widest in range. No history is so unbroken as that which they tell; no geography so complete; no art so continuous in sequence, nor so broad in extent; no mythology so ample and so various. Unknown kings, and lost towns, forgotten divinities, and new schools, if not new styles of art, have here their authentic record. Individual character is illustrated, and the tendencies of races defined.

To be a good Greek numismatist one must be a great archaeologist; and it is a significant fact, that the only archaeological book of the last century which still holds its own is the *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* of Eckhel, now near its centenary. To be a good general numismatist is beyond the powers of one man. Some may know Greek and Latin enough, with such mastery of English, French, German, and Italian as the modern commentaries demand, to begin the

study of Greek and Roman money. Those who would enter the vast field of Oriental numismatics must be fortified with Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Persian, besides adding Spanish and Russian to the other European languages still necessary for their work. Even they must pause beneath the Himalayas, or not dare to cross the Golden Chersonese, unless they are prepared to master as comparative scholars the uncouth languages and intricate characters of the farther East. So vast a subject, and one needing such high training, has between Eckhel's time and ours attracted few great students, and yet fewer with comparative skill. Coins have been used as helps by archaeologists; but the great numismatist, who could master the richest provinces of the East or the West, or even both, and dignify his science as no longer servile but masterly, is of our contemporaries. The first was De Saulcy, who has but lately left us to lament how much remained untold by a mind signally fruitful in giving forth. He has had his rivals, and he has his followers, some, like François Lenormant, who have already followed him, others, like Mommsen, still living to maintain the high position recovered for numismatics.

Thanks to their attractive beauty, and the skill of Eckhel, Greek coins have been best examined, and most carefully described; yet much remains unknown and unrecorded. Besides the treasures we are constantly digging out of well-known collections, every year brings to light from beneath the earth coins of new kings, or cities, or with fresh types of divinities, and copies of famous statues. And the great gift of the Hellenic race is that which attracts fresh students to a subject which can never be old or worn. Greek coins are the grammar of Greek art. In them we may trace its gradual growth, the stern grandeur of the last days of archaism, and the sudden outburst of full splendour to last a century and a half, more marked in coins by the influence of the contemporaries and followers of Phidias than by that of the great sculptor himself. While the original works of this age, in marble and bronze, including such as are architectural in purpose, might be contained within the walls of a single museum, the coin-types may be counted by

thousands. No restorer has touched them, nor are they such late copies as the Latin translations of Greek originals, which confuse the skill of the judge of statues. Small indeed they are; yet large in treatment, and beautiful in material, whether it be rich gold, or the softer-toned electrum, or cold silver, or bronze glorified by the unconscious colouring of the earth in which they have lain for centuries. Sometimes we can see the copy of a statue, yet no servile reproduction; but with such proof of free work in varieties of attitude as show that the artist, strong in his power, was working from memory. Such is the Herakles of Croton, recalling a kindred statue to the so-called Theseus of the Parthenon. Bolder masters took a theme like the winged goddess of Terina, and varied it with an originality that showed they were worthy peers of the sculptors and painters. Croton is a town with some place in history; but who save a numismatist has any thought for Terina, famous only for the survival of her exquisite coinage?

While the sequence of styles is thus recorded, the study of coins unexpectedly reveals the existence of local schools; shows in the marked mannerism of the Italians, and still more the Sicilians, that they worked under the influence of gem-engravers; while the strong central school of Greece was ruled by sculpture, the gentler and more sympathetic rival of Western Asia Minor obeyed the taste of painters; and the isolated Cretans, leading a simpler and less cultured life, expressed their feeling in a free naturalism. The larger schools again had their divisions, marking such local differences as those with which the study of mediæval Italian art has made us acquainted.

With the age of Alexander all art is centralized in royal capitals, and provincial feeling disappears. The great styles can still be traced in the money of the kings, the lofty naturalism of Lysippus, the dramatic force of the Pergamene masters, the theatrical tendency of their successors. This we see in royal portraits; while the decline and the commercial tendency of art is witnessed by the heraldic quality of the less important types.

The eye, dazzled with the beauty of Greek money, is apt to take little heed of the

knowledge lying beyond the province of art which is held within the narrow round of a coin. Yet the mythological interest is only second to the artistic; and when the artist had lost his skill he produced those neglected pieces of inferior work, the Greek money of the imperial age, which preserve the forms of famous temples, of great statues, and may be even of pictures otherwise finally lost to us.

Such artists as those who engraved the Greek imperial money, called to Rome, worked there for alien masters. Mere copyists they were; yet more exact in portraiture, and better historians than their great predecessors. Too weak to be original, they were more faithful in rendering the present. To them we owe the marked lineaments of the earlier series of Emperors, the cold Augustus; the coarse Vitellius; Trajan, the simple soldier; Hadrian, the polite man of the world; and the philosophic Antoninus and Aurelius, with their wayward and luxurious wives. These engravers have left us a record of the art produced at Rome, and the art that was stored at Rome of the spoils of Greece, great buildings and famous statues, with here and there a subject foreshadowing in a new turn of style, of Roman birth, the future splendour of the renaissance. But for history these men worked best, telling the story of the first two centuries and a half of the empire with a fulness that has entitled their money to be called an Imperial Gazette. Thus while Hadrian was visiting the distant provinces, the Roman people, when they went to market, saw in the new sestertii, the splendid bronze currency, the portrayal of the movements of the distant Emperor.

The transition from Roman to mediæval money is not sharp. The one decays, and the other rises from its ruins, owing as much and as little to it as the architecture of the middle ages owed to that of the empire,—as much in form, as little in spirit. Here history divides with art the claim to our attention. At first the interest is centred in the gradual introduction of Roman money among the barbarian conquerors of the empire; but by degrees the growth of art attracts us, and we watch the same process that marked the story of Greek coinage,—the same succession of styles, the same

peculiarities of local schools. But the art of the middle ages in the coins never rises beyond the limits of decoration; and it is not till the classical renaissance that we discover a worthy rivalry of the ancient masters. The beginning of medals is of the time, if not due to the genius, of Petrarch; and the earliest works are of his friends the Lords of Carrara; but it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the great medallic art of Italy had its true origin. Pisano of Verona, who glories in the name of painter, was at once the founder of the art, and by far its greatest master. His works are larger in size than the coins of antiquity and the Roman medallions, and are cast in fine bronze, not struck. Despite an inferiority to Greek money in the sense of beauty, the best Italian medals have a dignity of portraiture, and a skill and beauty of composition, that places them in only the second rank, below the Greek works indeed, yet above the Roman. For if the Italian medallist had not the same sense of beauty, he had the power of idealizing portraiture, not with the view of elevating the physical so much as the moral qualities. Pisano, notably, represented a man with all the possibilities of excellence that lay within his compass; and thus he is the greatest of those medallists who worked in portraits.

Modern coins of the European states and their colonies are the lowest in interest, and the medals of their great personages the least lively in portraiture. But they have a historic value that entitles them to a place in all representative collections, as at least useful illustrations of the contemporary annals, and the readiest means of bringing before the eye the chief figures of the times. A closer study reveals more curious facts, and the character of the king or the tendencies of the state receive an unexpected illustration.

Oriental money, of larger range and more individuality than European, is worthy of closer study than it has received. The great branch of Arab coinage is invaluable for a period of history when written records are often wanting or little to be trusted. The decorative art has a charm which is powerful in the finest works of the Shahs of Persia and the Indian Emperors, but rarely is it more than a delicate rendering of an ornamental

writing. The inscriptions give the coins their true value, the dates and mints fixing the extent of a king's dominion, or recording the fact that he actually exercised the royal prerogative of coining. These legends have a bearing on the differences of race and faith, and even of literature and manners. The western Arabs coined their money with elaborate religious formulæ, the heretical caliphs of the race of 'Alee used mystical inscriptions, the Persians, the Indian Emperors and the Afghans inscribed poetic couplets in Persian, hard to decipher, from the curious way in which the order of words is not unfrequently disregarded, and difficult to interpret from the high-flown phrases in which royalty turned the language well called the Italian of the East. Despite the general absence of figures, there are some notable exceptions, as in the Turkoman coinage of the age of the crusades, and the famous zodiacal coins of Jehängeer and his still stranger Bacchanalian money, on which we see the emperor seated, holding the forbidden wine-cup in his hand.

Yet earlier in origin than the Arab coinage, the native money of India, has, like it, survived to our time. Beginning with the interesting Indian coins of the Greek princes, the so-called Bactrian money, and the contemporary rude punch-marked square pieces of native origin, it passes into the gold currency of the Guptas with most interesting mythological subjects, Greek, Roman, and Indian, including a representation of Buddha, and closes with the Sanskrit money of our own time. Beyond India, China and the neighbouring lands have their money as unlike that of the rest of the world as all else in the Far East, valuable alone for history, and for it most valuable; curious mainly for the occasional departure from the forms which we associate with the idea of coined money.

This is but a poor plea for a rich study. Yet its sincerity may perhaps attract some, who have looked on numismatics as limited or barren, to a pursuit worthy of the best furnished scholars, in which they may be encouraged by the renown of Eckhel and of De Saulcy.

All that is left of Fotheringay Castle.

BY WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.

I OPENED a farmyard-gate which gave entrance to a meadow, and proceeding for some short distance round a fence, I stood before all that is left of Fotheringay Castle. It is, indeed, little enough, but now that the owner, Lord Overstone, has so lately gone to his rest, it is worth while turning to the history of this, his most historical possession. At a first glance there appears to be only a vast shapeless enclosure, but gradually, when you come upon the place itself, a more minute inspection enables you to realize something of the past history of a royal residence, ever memorable in the annals of our country. The foundations of the castle occupy a very small space. A mound still extant shows the position of the keep. This was erected in the form of a fetterlock. Near at hand lies a shapeless mass of wall, a portion, and the only one left, of the celebrated castle, as far as bricks and mortar are concerned. A moat, in many places dried up, and choked with brambles, bulrushes, and a wild profusion of forget-me-nots, encloses the entire area. The hall was situated immediately below the keep. In the summer of 1882 it was the home of the wild mignonette, sundry patches of basil, mint, and the traveller's joy. Here, too, flourished, in appropriate keeping with the spirit of the place, the nodding thistle, with its drooping purple flowers. On and about the mound were several thorns, one of them near the moat, certainly some centuries old,—old enough to have stood there when the sixteenth century was hastening to a close, and to have gladdened the heart of the miserable captive of high renown with its early spring blossoms. As seen on the early afternoon of a bright summer day, it would be impossible to find a more peaceful place. Beyond the moat is a shelving bank, at the foot of which the river Nene flows calmly and quietly past. On the other side are many outlying pastures, where the kine may be seen ankle-deep in the rich luxuriance of sweet lush grasses, and where the only sound to be heard is the shepherd's bell and the many-toned notes of

the rooks clustering round a belt of trees near an adjoining farm-house. Such a prospect may have met the eyes of Mary Queen of Scots when a prisoner here for a few months, and from whence she was fated never to go alive. It is a dreary story—an episode in the history of the times which demands to be read in the cold impartial pages of accurate historians, and then to be dismissed with pitiful regard and nothing more. After the death of her husband Francis, Mary returned to Scotland, where she married Lord Darnley, and from that time to the time she was deposed by her Scottish subjects and sought refuge in England, the grim calamity which overtook her seems to be like the inexorable fulfilment of destiny. Commissioners were sent to Fotheringay to try her, who found her guilty, beside other charges, of compassing the death of Elizabeth. Both Houses of Parliament ratified the sentence of death pronounced against her, and on the 8th of February she was beheaded on the very place where, as has been said, the nodding thistle now flourishes. From this very brief epitome of the tragic life and still more tragic death of a discrowned queen, whose beauty was a spell to beckon to her aid all sorts and conditions of men, imagination readily lends its aid to throw a halo of romance over this pastoral landscape, and to follow the luckless lady from the scenes of her captive existence step by step. It requires no great effort to wander by fancy's aid in and round the antique chamber at Holyrood, where David Rizzio was killed; from thence to traverse the dim and desolate rooms in Bolton Castle, where Mary was kept captive under the rigid guardianship of Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys. From the stern rigidity of Bolton it is easy to pass to the picturesque ruins of Wingfield Manor, where she was held in durance by the Earl of Shrewsbury, husband of the renowned "Bess of Hardwick," who was wont to conduct her to the Old Hall at Buxton to drink the medicinal waters. Remembrance of a great genius comes to mind as the finest dramatic expositor of Mary's griefs and woes. Rachel made the character of Mary Stuart a something so full of tenderness, grace, and dignity, that it is not easy to forget her assumption. There, by the waters

of the Nene, I could once again behold that unrivalled tragedienne ascend the dreadful scaffold to undergo her doom with an intensity of anguish and a subdued pathos wonderful to witness. A natural impulse lends the heart to pity, not condemn, at such a moment. That fine sonorous voice and those classical features fitted naturally for the dying accents and expressive gaze of Mary.

The origin of Fotheringay Castle is remote, and goes back to the time of the Conquest, having been built by Simon St. Liz, the second Earl of Northampton. After many vicissitudes of change and partial demolition, it was rebuilt by Edmund, Duke of York, the son of Edward III. It was by his order that the keep was built in the shape of a fetterlock. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., was born here. It was here, too, where Edward IV., after quelling an insurrection in the north, met his queen. Henry VIII. settled the entire estate on Queen Katharine of Arragon.

From nearly every part of the little village, and for many miles round, the church at Fotheringay is a conspicuous object. It has an octagon tower of massive form, and a large perpendicular window on each of the two sides. The aisles have pinnaced buttresses, and are carried across the clerestory windows. Only the nave remains. Some members of the great Plantagenet family lie buried on each side of the altar. Edward of York, son of Edward of Langley, killed at Agincourt; Richard Duke of York, slain at Wakefield, and his Duchess Cicely, together with the young Earl of Rutland, repose here. In an earlier part of the sixteenth century the church was almost ruinous. The royal bodies were found in graves, and were enclosed in lead. Whether by design or accident, one of the coffins was open, and the body of the Duchess Cicely identified. Round her neck a silver ribbon was found. Queen Elizabeth, it may be presumed, in one of her many visits to Lord Burleigh at his noble mansion in this county, visited Fotheringay; for it is certain that she commanded the bones of her Plantagenet ancestors to be gathered together and buried where they now remain. The monuments on either side the altar were erected by her in 1573. These memorials consist of a

broad cornice, supported by fluted shafts, and enriched with Corinthian caps. Over each is a brief inscription. The devices of the fetterlock and falcon occur at frequent intervals. The matrices of two brasses are extant in front of the altar. Near these is an inscription, and Latin verses to commemorate Mr. Thomas, a schoolmaster in the village for the space of thirty-three years, and who, living till the year 1589, may by possibility have formed one of the large assemblage of people who witnessed the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. On the north wall of the church these words are to be seen.—

In festi Martyrii Processu Martiniani
Ecclesie prima fuit hujus Petralocata
Anno Christi primo centura quatuor ac mille
Cum deca quinta Henrici quinti tunc imminente
secundo. 1415.

The pulpit is original, but the canopy is late Jacobean; at the back are the royal arms. The font, raised on steps, is Perpendicular. Many architectural details deserve attention, such as the lofty arches and the great clerestory windows. Outside, the church is approached by a close avenue of dwarf elms, which gives the entrance much picturesque effect. On the opposite side of the street, leading to the castle mound, is the ancient hostel built by Edward IV. It bears the appearance of very extensive restoration, indeed the interior is entirely modern. The chief entrance arrests the eye at once by the ornamental spandrels and the shields of arms, which were intended as terminations for the outer mouldings. The commissioners and judges at the trial of Queen Mary were housed in this very hostel. As many as two thousand horse were quartered at different places in the village and its neighbourhood. Fear was entertained lest there should be an *émeute*. It was surmised that the party attached to her cause might take advantage of the occasion and contrive her escape. Great endeavours had been made to induce her to submit to a trial, and it was only by the persuasive arguments and remonstrances of Queen Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, that she reluctantly consented. He assured her that her royal dignity and state availed nothing in preventing the declaration either of her innocence or her

guilt. A free and fair trial awaited her, and to that she ought to yield assent. Of the fairness of this trial, only one flaw has been suggested, and that is the refusal of the authorities to permit her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, to be confronted with her. It is affirmed that Elizabeth would willingly have permitted the two men to be produced at the trial, but the practice of the law in cases of high treason prevented. The main evidence deciding the fate of Mary came from these confidential agents, both of whom vouched on oath for the authenticity of the inculcating documents. These were letters to and from Babington, a gentleman of a good county family in Derbyshire. The letters were in cypher, the key to which had been discovered.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the conduct and character of the unhappy princess whose miseries were ended at Fotheringay, there can be no doubt that the circumstance of her captivity and execution in this quiet part of the kingdom combined to throw a romantic halo over her fate, and to stimulate the impression made by her grace and beauty on the hearts of those susceptible of such attractive qualities. It was owing to the fascination of her manner and the pity evoked by her forlorn condition, that led the Duke of Norfolk to join in a conspiracy to depose Queen Elizabeth, and marry her rival. The same cause led the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to take up arms in the north in 1569. The fact that Pope Pius V. in 1570 excommunicated Queen Elizabeth by a papal bull, aroused the jealousy and indignation of the English Queen's councillors and the statesmen surrounding her court. It was owing to this proceeding that Parliament in the following year passed two statutes in reply to the papal decree, denouncing it as an usurped authority. The power of this body was omnipotent, and had been largely consulted by Henry VIII., who maintained Elizabeth's right to the throne by an Act passed in his lifetime.* This Act was ratified at the death of her sister.† The relationship of the Queen of Scots to Henry VIII. was one strictly of kinship.

* Hen. 8, 35, cap. 1.

† Eliz. 1, cap. 3.

She was the granddaughter of Henry's elder sister Margaret. She was the next heir to the throne, in right of this blood-relationship, after the decease of Elizabeth.

A continued series of plots against the life of Elizabeth compelled the Parliament to pass an Act for the proper security of the Queen's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace.* Without due consideration of all these circumstances, it would be obviously unjust to stigmatise the English sovereign and the English people for cruelty towards a woman accused of perpetual conspiracies, and whose previous conduct towards her husband, the Earl of Darnley, was susceptible of so many dark and terrible misgivings. It requires little effort of the imagination to travel to that little dark room in the old palace of Holyrood, and see acted once again all the horrors of David Rizzio's death, and the subsequent aversion to Darnley entertained by Mary. The aspect of that apartment, with its secret entrance, the narrow stairs leading to it, and the appearance of the larger room beyond, called Queen Mary's bedroom, conjure up associations of melancholy as well as the most romantic interest. There the faded tapestry, and the decaying remnants of the bed, once bright with crimson hangings, and silken tassels and fringes, easily lead the most prosaic of minds into something more than a slight vision of a past scene in Scottish history.

Here, standing on the mound, where the great keep formerly reared its head, we see a wide-spreading landscape, with a gentle river flowing calmly along; nothing exists to bring to mind the tragedy enacted now three hundred years ago. Yet the serenity of the scene seems in keeping with a tender regret for the sorrowful end of a discrowned queen, whose friends and associates were unhappily chosen from her very earliest to her latest years. It would have been agreeable to the lover of history to have found what I did not find—some remnant of the ancient hall, some portion of a castle ever memorable in the annals of English and Scottish history. Various dates have been given as that when the castle was demolished. Some writers have assigned the time to 1604. This was

* Eliz. 27, cap. 1.

the year after the accession of King James I.; Elizabeth expiring on the 24th of March, 1603. As the son of the decapitated Queen of Scots, James refused to admit Sir Robert Cary to his presence. That knight was sent by Elizabeth to assure the future King of England of her regrets, her affliction, and her resentment at the rashness of those who had carried out the sentence of the commissioners against his mother. Lord Sinclair went to the Scottish court dressed in armour, declaring that to be the fit habiliment on the occasion, and more proper than mourning. Walsingham, however, wrote a long explanatory letter to the King; and it had the effect of mollifying his anger, and restraining any resentment he might naturally feel. The body of the Queen was taken to Peterborough, and interred in the Cathedral of that city on the 30th of July, 1587; the funeral service being held on the 1st of August following. About a quarter of a century farther on, James wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, requesting them to permit the removal of the corpse to Westminster Abbey. This wish was gratified, and the second interment took place at Westminster on the 11th of October, 1612. Over her remains a magnificent canopied monument, supported by pillars, was erected. On the tomb is her recumbent effigy. A marble slab under the doorway, leading from the choir to the south aisle, shows the spot in Peterborough Cathedral where the body once lay. As a survey of the Castle of Fotheringay was held in 1625, it is evident that its destruction could not have been effected in 1603. It is also to be noted that James died in the very year when the survey was taken. Though little is left of all indications of a castle, yet that little is sufficiently worthy of a pilgrimage where and when the lover of history may recall at his own sweet leisure the chief incidents in so sad and mournful a life as that of Mary Queen of Scots.*

A strange commentary on the fate of this unhappy lady is afforded by the record, published by the Camden Society in 1867, of the expenses incurred at her funeral.

* A memoir of Fotheringay, in Nichols's *Bibliotheca Topographica*, and some curious accounts in an historic notice of Fotheringay by an Archdeacon of Lincoln, may be consulted with profit.

Twenty-nine pages are taken up with the details. We learn that no less a sum than £1,538 9s. 0½d. was expended in the pall, mourning, robes, liveries, journey from Fotheringay, alms, etc. In addition to this, Garter King at Arms brought in a bill for £431 14s. 4d.; whilst, to crown all, the eating and drinking at Peterborough cost, for two days only, no less a sum than £320 14s. 6d.

The entry of her burial in the parish register is as follows:—

1587. The Queen of Scots was most sumptuously buried in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough the first day of August, who was for her deserts beheaded at Fotheringay about St. Pauls day before.



"That Detestable Battle of Lewes."

By J. H. ROUND.

THE second volume (1252-84) of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* (1877) occurs a record "which seems to us," says the editor (*Preface*, p. xxiv.), "of great historical interest . . . and is noticed in Pauli's *Stephen (sic) de Montfort*." * His own comments on it are as follows:—

We are told by a good authority that the documents on the Rolls were, between the battles of Lewes and Evesham, issued under the direction of Simon de Montfort; in fact, the King himself, lower down on this very Roll from which the above abstract is taken, says as much and annuls them. Now, this being so, how comes it that the battle of Lewes is styled hateful in this document, which is tested by the King, and by Simon as justiciary? The expression in the original is *post illud detestabile bellum de Lewes*.† That that battle was hateful to the King we can readily imagine, but could it have been so to Simon? How is the expression to be accounted for? Edward is stigmatised as a rebel in this document, and archbishops in Ireland are commanded not to favour, aid, or obey him. But the gallant Edward soon showed that he was no rebel.

* The abstract of this document, given in the *Calendar*, has been printed *in extenso* in THE ANTI-QUARY, vol. i., p. 59.

† *Bellum*, I may notice, was then used for "battle." Thus the Battle of Evesham was spoken of as "*Bellum de Evesham*," and the title of Rishanger's Chronicle is *De Bellis Lewes et Evesham*,

The drift of these remarks about "the gallant Edward" I do not quite understand. The exact terms in which he was here denounced are, as I shall show, of historical importance, but "that he was no rebel," when he rose to free the King, is of course a self-evident fact, though Simon, in self-justification, was compelled to pretend that he was so. We cannot, in fact, attempt to grasp the situation unless we bear in mind that, from the force of circumstances, Simon's position was an elaborate sham. Mr. Prothero, whose *Life of Simon de Montfort* (1877) is the latest and fullest we have, does not even allude to the document. But Pauli offers the following solution:—

Two days later, on the 10th, when dealing with the same subjects, in writing to the Archbishop of Dublin and the Irish estates concerning the Prince's confinement and those marchers who were originally banished to Ireland, Henry already described the Battle of Lewes as detestable. Even now the Protector no longer held the puppet whom he kept near him with a firm grasp (*Simon de Montfort*,—Ed. Goodwine, 1876, p. 187). *

We have here Pauli's solution of this strange expression, and I venture to think, with all deference, that it is not only quite erroneous, but betrays a total want of appreciation of one of the most instructive features in the politics of this great struggle.

In the first place, on Dr. Pauli's hypothesis, Henry, so early as the 10th June, had acquired sufficient control over the royal proclamations (issued by Simon) to denounce, in them, the Battle of Lewes as "detestable," *because it had resulted in his defeat and the triumph of Simon's cause*. That this was the sense in which *detestabile* was here employed is similarly assumed, as we have seen, by the editor of the above *Calendar*. Yet how could Henry possibly have been allowed to administer this wanton rebuff to Simon in the very document in which he undergoes the humiliation of being made ostensibly to denounce his own son for advancing to liberate him from his captors? The idea, it will be seen, is too absurd to be entertained. Moreover, if, so early as the 10th of June, "the Protector no longer held the puppet . . . with a firm grasp," what must have been the case on the 28th June, when the Pro-

* I quote from this excellent English translation, as having been "revised throughout by Dr. Pauli,"

tector's cause had been rapidly sinking during those eighteen days? Yet we find the royal proclamation of that date devoid of any trace of Henry's influence, and indeed more outspoken in its denunciations of the Royalists than on any previous occasion. Simon, speaking in the King's name, calls on all faithful subjects

ad gravandum Edvardum filium Regis et omnes sibi adhaerentes (Pat. 49 Hen. III., m. 45).

Of a surety he still "held his puppet" with as firm a grasp as ever.*

So an explanation of the term *detestabile* is yet to be sought. To find it we must dive somewhat deeply into the theory of English history, and examine what I have termed "one of the most instructive features in the politics of this great struggle." It is an accepted principle that the responsibility of ministers and the maxim that "the King can do no wrong" combine to form a constitutional device by which ministers, instead of the Crown itself, come into conflict with the popular will. In this sense, the doctrine is obviously applicable to a weak monarchy, and is adapted to save the Crown from the peril of direct attack. But in another sense, this doctrine, or its equivalent, may be the natural fruit of a strong monarchy. In that

case, it would also be intended to avert the peril of a direct conflict with the Crown, but in the interest, of course, of the popular party, who might be overpowered in the struggle. I think that we may discern, in this latter sense, even in the days of Simon, the influence of this nominally modern doctrine. The party which he headed carefully abstained from any thoughts of overturning the monarchy. They felt that they could appeal more successfully to the country by fixing the responsibility for the grievances they complained of on the "evil counsellors" and the "foreign favourites." They did not aim at deposing the King, though they knew that he was himself much to blame, but at gaining their ends by the indirect means of changing the *entourage* by which he was surrounded, and securing an executive pledged to their cause. In this we perceive a striking analogy to the policy of the Parliament in the Civil Wars. In both instances the opponents of the Crown sought, by sheltering themselves beneath the forms of the constitution, to avoid outraging the national loyalty. The barons appealed to their charters, the Parliament to its precedents; both professed to be acting in the name of the King, when in truth combating the power of the Crown; both professed to be attacking the evil counsellors of the King, rather than the crown itself; and both endeavoured to shift the onus of rebellion from themselves on to their opponents. But the analogy becomes closest at that fascinating epoch, which is so full of instruction for our own days, but which has never as yet had justice done to it,—the Second Civil War." Like the spring of 1265, it was the epoch of the royalist reaction. In each case the King was a prisoner; in each case his son and heir was waiting for the moment when he could set him free; in each case the queen was abroad, struggling to raise men and means; in each case leaders of the opposition were, in some cases growing lukewarm, in others deserting to the royal cause; in each case the *de facto* government denounced the royalists as rebels, while its ambiguous position, as usurping the place of a king not yet deposed, caused its power to totter, and made it tremble for its fate. A little more, and the fight at Preston might have repeated the story of the fight at Evesham. But Cromwell was

* While on this point, I may notice an entry on the Fine Rolls, which, so far as I know, has escaped attention, and which seems to suggest that there was a time, not now, but in the previous summer, when the "puppet" had been really held with no firm grasp. It records the remission, by the King, of the reliefs due from Robert FitzPayne and William de Gouiz, in return for their good service to him at the Battle of Lewes:—"Rex pro laudabili servicio quod Robertus fil Pagani et Willelmus de Gouiz Regi impenderunt et pro dampnis quae sustinuerunt in servicio Regis apud Lewes in conflictu habito ibidem, perdonavit," etc. (*Rot. Fin.*, 48 Hen. III., M. 3). Now we learn from a valuable Appendix by Mr. Pearson to Mr. Blauw's *Barons' War* (Ed. 1871, p. 374) that these men were really on the Royalist side. Consequently, we have evidence in this entry that so late as the 21st July (1264), when Simon was in the full flush of his triumph, and when the kingdom was actually, at his summons, in arms against a royalist invasion, the King was allowed openly to reward those who had served him against the barons! Have we here a hint that Simon's hope (like that of the parliamentary leaders in the civil war) was to establish, in all good faith, a *modus vivendi* with the King, until he was driven, by the force of circumstances, into that attitude of virtual rebellion which, as he doubtless foresaw, could have but one issue?

a better general than even Leicester, and Prince Charles was not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath as Prince Edward, and was, moreover, but a youth at the time, while the Plantagenet was of man's estate.*

Enough has been said to show that the parallel is sufficiently striking to deserve more notice than it has hitherto obtained.†

Now, let us see what light is thrown upon our problem by comparing these two epochs. I have spoken of Simon's position, before the fight of Evesham, as in truth "an elaborate sham," and the same term applies to the attitude of the Parliament at a similar crisis of its fate. In the ironical strains of Alexander Brome:—

'Tis to preserve his Majesty
That we against him fight,
Nor are we ever beaten back,
Because our cause is right.
If any make a scruple on't,
Our declarations say
Who fight for us, fight for the King—
The clean contrary way.

These lines apply with equal force to the "Royal proclamations" *ex parte baronum*, which I shall discuss below. But the same eagerness to trade on the *prestige* of the Crown which led to this "elaborate sham," led also to the attack being directed, as long as was possible with safety, against evil counsellors rather than against the Crown. Thus it was that the barons, in their *ultimatum* presented at Lewes, insisted on their unswerving fidelity to the King, while pleading for the removal of his counsellors:—

Excellentissimo domino H., dei gratia Regi Angliæ, barones et alii fideles sui, sacramentum suum et fidelitatem Deo et sibi debitam observare volentes, salutem et debitum cum anni reverentiâ et honore

* Prince Charles, though daily expected, did not actually take part in the campaign, but it is meant that, had he possessed Edward's capacities, and attained Edward's age, his presence would probably have turned the scale.

† There is also a singular resemblance between some of the antecedent circumstances. Mr. Blaauw (*Barons' War*, p. 145), and Pauli (*Simon de Montfort*, 1876, p. 148), have pointed out the correspondence between the characteristics of the rival parties at Lewes and in the Civil Wars, but it may be added that the decisive fight at Lewes was lost by the impetuosity of Prince Edward, precisely as was the decisive fight of Naseby by the impetuosity of Prince Rupert.

famulatum. Cum per plura experimenta liqueat, quod quidam nobis assistentes multa de nobis mendacia vestra dominationi suggererunt, mala quantum possunt vero solum nobis sed etiam vobis et toti regno vestro intentantes; noverit excellentia nostra quod salutem et securitatem corporis vestri totis viribus cum fidelitate vobis debitâ volumus observare inimicos nostros non solum sed vestros et totius regni vestri juxta posse gravare proferrentes, aliud super prædictis, si placet, non credatis; nos enim [et] nostri fideles semper inveniemur.—*Chron. Rish.*, fol. 103, r. b.

I invite a close comparison between this letter of the Barons, sent to Henry at Lewes to avert hostilities, and that of Fairfax, sent to Rupert at Bristol, in the very same spirit and with the same object.

Sir,—The crown of England is, and will be, where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the king, misled by evil councillors, or through a seduced heart, has left his parliament, under God the best assurance of his crown and family. The maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war [*miserabilis conflictus*] on your part; and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms is visible to all men. To maintain the right of the crown and kingdom [*vestros et totius regni vestri*] jointly, a principal part whereof is, that the king in supreme acts is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice . . . hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the parliament; and to bring these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him is a principal ground of our fighting . . . whose constant grief hath been, (that) their desires to serve your family have been ever hindered or made fruitless by that same party about His Majesty, whose counsel you act, and whose interest you pursue in this unnatural war * [*detestabile bellum*].

The Barons' theory of the Battle of Lewes was that the King had rejected their moderate terms at the instigation of his evil counsellors,† headed by Richard, King of the Romans. These, therefore, were responsible for the conflict. This leads us insensibly to a distinct point, namely, that, a civil war being always peculiarly odious, there are strenuous efforts on each side to hold the other responsible for its miseries. This is a maxim of universal application, but its influence was strongly accentuated in the events of 1648, and in the trial and execution of the king. That its power was felt in the Barons' war is evident in every critical document. Henry, in his reply to the Barons' overtures, denounces them for

* Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*.

† "Rex minus sano fretus consilio."—*T. Wykes*.

raising war in the kingdom,* and when he is in turn, by a strange irony, reduced to be the mouthpiece of Simon, he is made to express his gratitude to Heaven for that Mise of Lewes which had sealed his fate,† and his deep regret at every attempt to disturb the peace established under Simon's rule. Indeed, when he at last assails Prince Edward, and calls on his subjects to resist him, it is for—

Novas in Regno nostro guerras suscitando, de quo non mediocriter sumus commoti et irati.‡

Those who have followed me thus far will perceive that the meaning of "*detestabile*" can no longer be in doubt. Rishanger prepares us for that meaning when he bewails that—

Perurgente cruentissima dissensione inter eundem regem et barones suos . . . formidolosæ tribulationis incommodo præcipue laborabat terra Anglicana (fo. 97, r^o. b.).

He places it beyond the bounds of doubt when he heads his narrative of the Battle of Lewes "*De miserabili conflictu apud Lewes*," and when he, further, gives vent to the famous rhapsody:—

O miserabile spectaculum! dum filius in patrem, pater in filium, affinis autem in affinem, concivis in concivem, ensibus hinc inde terribiliter fulminantibus, et occisorum cruore inebriatis, nititur insurgere, etc.—*Chron. Rish.*, fo. 105, r^o. b.

For this "*cruentissima dissensio*," this "*miserabilis conflictus*," this "*detestabile bellum*," they are all one and the same thing—they are all the equivalents of that "*unnatural war*" which Fairfax denounced beneath the walls of Bristol, laying the guilt of it to the charge of the "*evil counsellors*" of the King. So Simon, in this document, compels his puppet to admit the responsibility of the Royalists for the carnage on the field of Lewes, and to express his "*detestation*" of the evil counsels which had induced him to inflict this calamity on the

realm. Such is the true solution of this instructive historical enigma.

Before leaving this subject let us glance at a point which further illustrates the "*elaborate sham*" and the "*evil counsellors*" device. If we turn to the Royal proclamations, issued by Simon ("*captivo rege*")* between the escape of Edward and the fight at Evesham, we find (though this important fact has, I think, been somewhat overlooked) a desperate effort to divert attention from the Prince himself to his followers, and so to pervert the issue at stake. Thus in the proclamation, "*De arestando marchiones*" (7th June), Gloucester is held up as the offender, and Edward as a tool in his hands,—

Ac idem comes Gloucestræ . . . Edvardum filium nostrum . . . ad suam et eorundem rebellium nostrorum partem jam attraxerit.†

So too in the summons to excommunicate, on the following day,—

Præter hæc vero . . . idem comes et alii rebelles nostri prædicti . . . Edvardum filium nostrum . . . ad partem suam proditorio extraxerunt. Quem pro dolor! ad credendum levem et ad circumveniendum facilem invenerunt.‡

It is not till the Monmouth proclamation of the 28th June that, all further pretence being then in vain, Simon at length threw off the mask, and while still calling, in the King's name, all loyal subjects to his standard, confessed that he was fighting

"Edvardum filium Regis et omnes sibi adherentes."§

Lastly I would examine the title of "*Justiciar*" which Simon de Montfort appends to his signature at the foot of these Royal proclamations. It was fully discussed by the late Professor Shirley, who, from his special knowledge of this eventful period, must be deemed an eminent authority. He says of the Parliament which met 20th January, 1265:—

They appear to have appointed Simon de Montfort

* "*Cum per guerram et turbationem in nostro regno generalem, per vos jam subortas, necnon et incendia et alia dampna enormia, appareat manifeste quod fidelitatem vestram nobis debitam non observastis.*"—*Chron. Rish.*, fo. 103, r^o. b.

† "*Cum jam, sedatâ turbatione nuper habitâ in regno nostro, pax inter nos et barones nostros, divini co-operante gratiâ, ordinata sit et formata.*"—Henry III. to John Balliol (claus. 48, Hen. III. m. 5 dors.).

‡ Pat. 49 H. III., m. 54.

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* Such is the marginal annotation on the Patent Roll. The King himself testifies, in a document dated at Worcester on the 7th August, that "*tempore ipsius custodiæ, contra voluntatem nostram, præfatus comes literas sigillo nostro (quo non nos sed comes ipse pro suo utebatur arbitrio) formari voluit.*"—Pat. 49 H. III., m. 11.

† Pat. 49 Hen. III., m. 14 dors.

‡ Pat. 49 Hen. III., m. 54.

§ Pat. 49 Hen. III., m. 45.

to the office of Justiciar of England, and to have thus made him in rank what he had before been in power, the first subject in the realm. It is a curious matter for speculation whether the early acquaintance with the institutions of Aragon which Montfort, through his father, must almost certainly have possessed, suggested to his mind the model on which he proposed to popularise the institutions of England. In Aragon the towns had early obtained an important place in the great council of the nation; in Aragon also the justiciar was the most powerful of all subjects, and less an officer of the Crown than a servant of the nation at large, controlling with an almost tribunician power the proceedings of the king himself.

Montfort, at all events, had now gone so far, he had exercised such extraordinary powers, he had done so many things which could never really be pardoned, that perhaps his only chance of safety lay in the possession of some such office as this.*

But, unfortunately, the whole of this brilliant hypothesis is voided by the simple fact that we have a document tested by Simon de Montfort "Comitem Leicestræ Justiciarum," three days before the meeting of Parliament.† Moreover, Professor Shirley necessarily assumed that Simon replaced, as Justiciary, Hugh le Despenser, of whom he speaks as "late Justiciar" (p. 56). But Hugh, who had been summoned, 14th December, 1264, as "Hugo le Despenc' Justic' Angliæ,"‡ had the proclamation prohibiting the Tournament addressed to him, 16th February, 1265, as "Hugo le Dispenser Justic' Angliæ,"§ assisted Simon, in that capacity, in its suppression,|| was so designated in a patent at the beginning of May,¶ tested, as such, a document, at Hereford, on the 19th June,** and fell at Evesham (4th August) as "Hugo le Dispenser Justitiarius Angliæ."

"Sir Hue le fer, by Despenser
Tres noble justice."††

Clearly then, Simon's action did not deprive him of his office.

* *Simon de Montfort*, Quart. Rev. (1866), vol. cxix., p. 55.

† 17 Jan., 1265 (*Fadera*, i. 805). Indeed, he would seem to have tested a safe-conduct as Justiciar some days previously (Pat. 49 Hen. III., n. 106).

‡ *Lords' Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, iii. 34.

§ *Fadera*, i. 806 (Pat. 49 Hen. III., n. 101).

|| "Associato sibi H. Dispensatore—torneamentum impedit" (*Chron. Rish.*, fo. 113).

¶ *Madox's Exchequer*, i. 71.

** Pat. 49 Hen. III., m. 13. This important evidence, having never been printed, would seem to have escaped notice.

†† Political Song in Cottonian MSS.

Turning now to Pauli, we find that the version given by him is as follows:—

During this Parliament the power he had grounded upon wisdom and energy reached its climax. As if seeking for a designation which should in some measure justify it, he assumed the title of Count Justiciary,* in addition to his hereditary dignity of Seneschal of England,† although Hugh Despenser continued to hold the post of Great Justiciary. Is it possible that, after the impulse of a great popular movement had made him the foremost man in the nation, the model of Aragon presented itself to him, where a guardian of national privileges, bearing a similar name and holding like authority, always confronted the king, and permanently limited his power?‡

A more unfortunate suggestion than this "Count Justiciary" it is not easy to imagine. It need hardly be said that even "Earl Justiciary" would have been an equally impossible style. As a matter of fact, this "Comes Justitiarius" is not to be found in the passage to which Pauli refers us, nor, indeed, anywhere else; while the "document of January 7th" is merely that of January 17th (ten days later), which is given, as above, in the *Fadera* (i. 805). Consequently the striking hypothesis that De Montfort was evolving a new and supreme dignity on the Aragonese model is inadmissible.§

* Pauli's authority for this is "Comes Justiciarius, first in a document of January 7th; Foss, *Judges of England*, ii., 155."

† Pauli's authority for this is "Comes Leicestræ et senescallus Angliæ, for the first time again May 20th."

‡ *Simon de Montfort* (1876), p. 180.

§ The comparison with the *Justicia* of Aragon is naturally very tempting, and is admittedly strengthened by the representation of the towns, and also, perhaps, by the parallel between the right of armed resistance, said to have been claimed by the *ricos hombres*, and the provision to that effect in the *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1265 ("liceat omnibus de regno nostro contra nos insurgere"). Yet, admitting all this, the comparison is misleading, as is admirably explained by Pauli himself in the *Épilogue* appended to this edition. Indeed, in this excellent *résumé* he takes a sounder view than in the text, and admits that De Montfort's Justiciarship, as I think is beyond question, is nowadays traceable to the influence of Aragon.

N.B.—This paper was written before the appearance in these pages of the Rev. W. W. Webster's very valuable essay (vii. 236, viii. 66), which has thrown so welcome a flood of light on the influence of Southern Institutions on Simon de Montfort's policy.

Mr. Prothero's version is as follows:—

A far less justifiable proceeding was the appointment of himself as Justiciar. (There is some doubt about this. Foss does not give the earl's name as Justiciar, but the evidence from writs, signed by him as Justiciar, seems too strong to reject.) The object of this act is hard to discover, especially as Hugh Despenser was at hand to undertake the duties he had already twice before discharged. Such an accumulation of power was most unwise; it was a needless challenge to the opposition. Acts of this kind form the heaviest indictment against the earl; they were an imitation of the worst faults of his enemies, and laid him open to the charge that he was aiming at a tyranny.*

He also says, of the writ prohibiting the tournament (16th February),

The earl tested the writ as Justiciar, in which character he first appears on 17th January, 1264 (*sic*).

But this is an error. The writ was tested, not by Leicester, but by Despenser, as Justiciary. "1264" is, of course, a misprint for 1265. Moreover, I question Mr. Prothero's assertion that "Hugh Despenser was at hand to undertake the duties." It will, I think, be found, on the contrary, that Hugh's name does not occur in any document in which Simon styles himself Justiciary. We may indeed have in this fact a hint that, with his characteristic love of constitutional forms, Simon, in order to give his writs every appearance of legality, assumed the style of Justiciary *pro hac vice*, whenever Hugh Despenser was not at hand.

We have still, however, to solve the problem of this ostensibly double Justiciarship. The co-existence of two Justiciars, Basset and Despenser, in 1261, is quite different, for, like a pope and anti-pope, the two rivals each claimed to be the true Justiciar—one on behalf of the King, the other of the Barons. It is true that the Provisions of Oxford seem to contemplate the possibility of two—"Derichef ke justice seit mis un u deus"—but this alternative does not seem to have been acted on. Mr. Prothero rightly states (*Simon de Montfort*, p. 200) that

Two justices had held office together before—e.g., the Earl of Leicester and R. de Lucy, under Henry II.

But there would seem to be a better parallel to our problem in William Marshal testing a writ, 14 Nov., 1216, as *Fustitiarius Anglie*

(*Rot. Claus.* i. 293), when the true Justiciar was Hubert de Burgh. Foss (*Fudges of England*, 1848, ii. 154-5) has the best data on Simon's Justiciarship. He admits it to be "not likely" that he really ousted Le Despenser, and recognises that his tenure of the office "could have been merely nominal."

It might indeed, I think, be suggested that "Justiciar" was used by Simon as a synonym of "Seneschal," the two terms having clearly been convertible, at least in Normandy, in the previous century. He certainly tests as "Justiciar" a document in which he is described as "Seneschal," nor did he ever, as Pauli implies, use the two titles in combination. Yet they must, unquestionably, by this time, have been too widely differentiated for such an interchange to be possible. It would seem that the only other alternative is to hold that this once mighty office had dwindled, in these its last days, to the *magni nominis umbra*, and that its tenure, instead of being, as asserted, of such vital importance to Simon, was, in truth, hardly worth contesting. This view has the sanction of Professor Stubbs himself, who tells us that

the office of great justiciar, after the fall of Hubert de Burgh (1232), lost its importance, and may be said to have become practically extinct.

He gives us, in his *Select Charters* (p. 307), as the last holders of the office, "Hugh le Despenser, 1260; Philip Basset, 1261." Hugh, as is well known, was elected by the barons in Parliament, and held office, I take it, till his death, though, in the royalist re-action of 1261, his father-in-law, Philip Basset, was made Justiciar *ex parte Regis*. At any rate, he was clearly, as we have seen, Justiciary throughout the period in which these signatures of Simon are to be found, and it is possible, as I have suggested, that, when he was not at hand, Simon may, for the nonce, have adopted his title, in order that his own "Royal proclamations" might have every semblance of legality. But whatever may have been the earl's intention, he can never, I think, have wished to supplant the brave and fearless follower, who fought and fell on the field of Evesham, the last of the Justiciaries of England.

* *Simon de Montfort* (1877), p. 322.

* *Const. Hist.*, ii. 267.

A Visit to America in 1774.

THE following letter, written by a merchant of Birmingham staying in America, a century ago, to his uncle, the Rev. Job Orton (a well-known divine at Shrewsbury), will be of considerable interest to those who know the Boston and Philadelphia of the present, while it carries us right into the time of great national and historic importance to both England and America. Nothing can illustrate more strikingly the contrast, and the strides made by the American people in so short a time, than an unconscious narrative like this, which, though truly English, is written by a not unfriendly hand. The great Boston "tea-party," herein referred to, took place on 16th December, 1773; the port of Boston was closed in April 1774; Congress for the States first met in September 1774 in Philadelphia, only a few days before the date of this letter. Boston was evacuated by the British army in March 1776, while the evacuation of New York by the British did not take place till the 24th November, 1783, a centenary which is being recalled in America this year (see *Harper's Magazine* for November). The letter is in possession of my relative, a descendant of the writer, by whose permission it is now printed.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

NEW YORK, Sept. 7th, 1774.

DEAR AND HONOURED SIR,—

About two months ago I wrote to you from this place, since which I have not received any letter from you; by the accounts I have had from home I was informed you had been but poorly, which I hope I need not tell you gave me much concern, but I trust before you receive this, through the mercy of that great Being, of whose kind providence I have constant instances in having a competent share of health continu'd to me, and in being preserved from numberless accidents in travelling in this (to me) new world, that you are as much recovered as, in the shattered state your nerves have been in this long time past, can be expected.

I set out from New York about the 12th of

June, in a very good stage-coach which goes constantly twice a week to Philadelphia in two days; the distance is about ninety miles; you pass through three or four pretty good towns which lye on the road; the country all the way is cleared and better cultivated than I expected, particularly the Jerseys; but I have not as yet seen any land which appears to me (exempt from the cultivation) to be so good as our land in England; but I am told farther up the country that the land is much richer and thicker settled than any I have yet passed through. Prince Town is about the half-way; the Colledge makes a very respectable appearance, and is, I am told, in a very flourishing state, but being in a stage coach I had not time to stop. I shall be going that way again, and then will take an opportunity of going over it. Philadelphia is certainly the finest city upon the continent; the regularity observed in its streets and buildings have made it famous all over the world: there are, I believe, some finer houses in New York than Philadelphia, but upon the whole the latter is certainly better built, though I cannot say it quite answered my expectations, for the sameness of the streets, owing to their regularity, is in some degree disagreeable, and the pent-houses they have over their doors and lower windows have an unpleasant appearance. As Mr. R—, my principal friend there, is a Quaker, I was introduced chiefly amongst them, and a most respectable people in fortune and character they undoubtedly are; their politics too I think are cooler than many others, so that I hope they will be able by their moderation to be a powerfull ballance against the fiery spirits which blaze in every part of America. I take it the chief power of the city is in their hands, and by the goodness of their public buildings, the regularity observed in their streets and markets, in short from the whole police of their city, which is superior to that of any other town on the continent, they prove themselves well worthy the power they are possessed of. There are great numbers of places of worship; their churches are handsome, and supplied by those whom they call orators, but they aimed too much at it to appear to me in that character. The Presbyterian Meeting House I was at was but an indifferent building, and I cannot say I admired their minister; he preached warm

politics, that was enough to disgust me ; I do not remember much of his subjects, but I am very certain he did not say one word to exhort them to turn their swords into ploughshares.

The increase of this city considering the time it has been built is astonishing, and they proceed in erecting new houses faster than ever. The great number of industrious, sober Germans who have settled chiefly in Pennsylvania have been of vast service to that province and its capital. The mild and honest manner in which this part of the continent was first settled gives me a higher opinion of its inhabitants than of those of many other parts, and that they deserve the success they have been crowned with. The practise of Physick in many places of America, by what I can learn, is by no means in a despicable situation, particularly in Philadelphia, where there are lectures given by the physicians who practise in the city which would not disgrace Edinburgh.

Mr. R—— (who remembers and spoke of you in very respectable terms) was very obliging to me, as were all his family ; his father is a very sensible, agreeable old gentleman. I believe he has acquired a very considerable property, and lives very handsomely, either in town, or at his country house on the banks of the Delaware, one of the best I have seen in America. My business at Philadelphia went on very disagreeably and slowly, which kept me there more than a month, and I was detained more than a week afterwards by my friend T—— R——, who came from Maryland on purpose to see me. Though his disposition and mine are, I believe, very different, yet he is a young man for whom I had always a great respect ; judge then, sir, whether I was not rejoiced at the sight of an old friend and townsman so far from home. He married, about three month before, a Quaker lady, whose father lived near Mr. R——'s Iron Works ; he seems much pleased with her, and I heartily wish him happiness ; it shall not be for want of my persuasion that he does not return to England, for after all their boasting about America I should not like either to live myself or leave my posterity on this side the Atlantic.

I returned to New York about the middle of July, and after staying there about a fort-

night, I went on board a sloop the * of August bound for Newport, in Rhode Island, on my way to Boston. The distance is about 200 miles, and the voyage, which lies up the sound between Long Island and the continent, is often performed [in] from eighteen to thirty hours' time. We had a tedious passage, and did not land till the fourth day in the evening. The appearance of the country on this island, it is said, is more like England than any other part of the continent ; as, likewise, the climate is really very pleasant and tolerably cool. Newport is not a very small town, but it is ill-built, and the people are not remarkable either for their honesty or riches. There is one very long strait street in it, which, were it broader and had better houses in it, would make a very handsome appearance. I spent one day there in driving about the island, and the day after went on board another sloop, which took us in about five hours to Providence, thirty miles distance. This, too, is a pretty good town, and now the Boston port is shut up is likely to thrive. Five of us hired a coach the day after to take us to Boston, forty-five miles distance, where, after going through very indifferant roads, we arrived the same evening.

This always has been, and is particularly now, a very famous place. Close to the town on a common are encamped four regiments and the train of artillery ; on Fort Hill, on the other side of the town, lie the regiment of Welsh Fusileers, which is just arrived from New York ; at Castle William, three miles distance, and which commands the harbour, another regiment is encamped ; and at Salem, the nearest port open, near which the General lives, who has two companies before his house and its environs, another sett of these red-coated gentry wait their commander's orders. Directly opposite, and not a quarter of a mile distance from the town, the Admiral, in a large fifty-gun ship, points [h]is formidable pieces in the face of these tea-destroying heroes ; another man-of-war, with two or three frigates and their attendants of schooners, cutters, etc., together with twelve or fifteen transports, all

* The date is left blank in the original, but a reference to the end of the letter, and to the date of it, 7th September, shows that this must have been about 7th August.

properly stationed, cordially and most effectually join in blocking us this once flourishing port. There is no kind of disturbance there at present; as I made two or three excursions into the country whilst I was there, I had not an opportunity of seeing much of the inhabitants; indeed, in the company I happened to fall into, I heard as respectable mention of Great Britain and her government as in any other part of America. It is certain many of the disturbances have been carried on by the mob, instigated by misguided and interested persons.

They have several good meeting-houses in Boston, one lately built very elegant; indeed their places of worship in general in America are much better than I expected—I had almost said too good. I wonder they have, any of them, the assurance to come and beg money in England. The Colledge at Cambridge, particularly the Library, is very handsome. They have one at Providence and others in the country, to say nothing of those in the principal cities; and I have not seen one but what makes as good or better figure than that at Warrington.

What shall I say as to politics? Though hitherto you know, sir, I was always an anti-ministerial man; yet, whether it is the spirit of English contradiction, or my dislike to hear the mother-country spoke of in the cavalier manner I frequently do, I sometimes think that the ministry (though I am far from approving all their measures) are in many respects right, and that the American grievances are some of them ideal. In short, in the cities they are become so rich, viz., in comparison of their original, and self-sufficient, and in the country so licentious, that some alterations were absolutely necessary; and whether it was my Lord North, or any other minister who began it, I should imagine that the present plan of government between Great Britain and her colonies could not long have subsisted in its present state, and that some alterations were absolutely necessary. Out of disorder sometimes proceeds order, and though appearances are at present very unfavourable, I heartily wish some measures, agreeable and easy to both parties, may be adopted, which may render the union more firm and lasting. But to foresee how it can be settled requires more sagacity than I can

boast of. For though there are many friends to Government, and still more cool men who wish a peaceful re-union, yet these latter object to many measures of Great Britain; and then as to the Sons of Liberty, who are I believe the most numerous, they are so hot that they will be held in no bounds, hear no reasons, nor speak with any decency,—in short, they are mad.

As a New-meeting Dissenter, I cannot say but my ideas on many subjects are different from the Presbyterians here; but were some of the gentlemen I have heard to preach at a certain meeting-house, I think they would collect such an audience as would make the place suitably warm even in the coldest day in winter.

I set out from Boston last Friday sennight in the morning, got to Providence that day, and the next was about seven hours in going by water to Newport, where I was detained by contrary winds till Wednesday. We sailed in the afternoon, and after a tedious passage arrived here Sunday morning, so that my expedition took me up just a month. There are several good meeting-houses on the road between Providence and Boston; they are mostly built of wood, but both in the outside and inside they make a much better appearance than any of our country meeting-houses.

Musketoos and bugs are the plagues of this country; here I am free from the latter, but in New England they swarm beyond description. If the country was half as well settled with men as bugs, they would soon overwhelm all His Majesty's troops. The first settlers might, perhaps, find them there; if not, I cannot but think it was carrying their fondness for liberty rather to an extreme not to leave even these household companions in slavery. In the Town Hall there is some tolerable pictures of their present Majesties, the two former kings, and some of their old Governors and first settlers; but the most extraordinary one I saw, and the last I should have expected to see there, was what appeared to me a tolerable good full-length portrait of Charles II. How he came there, or why he has not long since been tarred and feathered, I could not learn.

Before I left Boston, though all was quiet in the town, there were accounts of some disturbances in the country, such as pulling

the judges, according to the new form, off their bench and refusing to let them sit, firing into the house of one [of] the new-made counsellors, and going in large mobs to almost all of them, and either driving them into the town for shelter, or forcing them to declare they would not serve. Yesterday the people were much alarmed here with an express which came from Newhaven, informing they had just heard by another express from Boston that the Admiral from his ship and the artillery on shore had been firing on the town all night, and that it still continued; that in consequence the people there were all arming to go to the assistance of the townsmen. What gave rise to this, was said, was this: General Gage had ordered detachments of soldiers to seize the powder in a town some distance from Boston, whether the provincial powder or some secreted by the people I am not certain, which they did; but being opposed by the inhabitants in the carrying it away, they had fired, killed six and wounded others, and that this brought on the general uproar. Many people thought a great part of this account false, and, as no express has since arrived, it is probable it is so. It is possible that, the general having given orders to seize the powder, some skirmish may have arisen between the inhabitants and soldiers, from which this oriental tale has been fabricated.

Since writing the above there is a ship arrived which left Boston last Sunday, by which we learn that the whole is false, and that there is no foundation for any part of the story. On the first account coming here there was an express sent off for Philadelphia, and I suppose they would forward it still farther southward; so that if one may judge by its acquisitions in the first 260 miles, by the time it goes to South Carolina it will be a lamentable tale indeed: it shows the readiness of the inhabitants to lay hold of everything which may raise a disturbance.

The whole continent have their eyes fixed now on the Congress from the different counties and towns, which was to meet at Philadelphia the first of this month. Their determinations are as yet quite uncertain, and I should suppose will not be made known for some time. It is not improbable that a non-importation, together with peti-

tions and remonstrances, may be agreed upon, but I cannot think they will come into a non-exportation which some talk of, as it will certainly, according to my judgment, affect themselves more than it will either Great Britain or the West Indies.

I shall stay here about ten days longer; then I shall go to Philadelphia, where I shall stay about a fortnight, and from thence set out for Virginia. How long the journey will take me I cannot tell. T— R— will go with me. I expect I shall spend the winter one part at Philadelphia, the other at this place. I hope, sir, whilst I am forming these schemes, I am not unmindful of the uncertainty of all human affairs, and that it is under the protection of a good Providence, alone giving success to our honest endeavours, that this or another undertaking can be performed with safety or advantage. My time will not permit me to enlarge more. I desire my best respects to Mrs. H—, Dr. J—'s family, compliments to all friends, and subscribe myself with much gratitude and affection,

Your obliged and dutiful nephew,

B— S—.



The Brasses of a City Church.

By. T. W. TEMPANY.

AMONG those churches in the City of London, which up to the present time have escaped falling victims to "Improvement" in its onward march, there is possibly not one richer in memorial brasses than the church of "All Hallows, Barking." The church itself is known to almost every one at all acquainted with the city, as well from its historical associations as from the elevated and prominent position it occupies at the corner of Great Tower Street and Seething Lane. Though the brasses in this church did not escape the hammers and chisels of Cromwell's ever-active commissioners, they are nevertheless, as a rule, in an excellent state of preservation, and the inscriptions can, in most cases, be deciphered, provided the investigator be blessed with patience and

a good pair of eyes; but in one or two instances the destroyers have been only too successful in their work of obliteration.

In the south chancel aisle of this church is a brass dated 1546; it bears a male and female figure, and is to the memory of William Thynne, clerk of the green cloth, clerk of the kitchen, and afterwards master of the household of King Henry VIII. This William Thynne was the editor and publisher of the first complete edition of Chaucer's works. In 1861 the brass was restored at the expense of the Marquis of Bath. Near the last-mentioned brass is one to John Rusche, who died 1498. The inscription on it is as follows:—

Johannes Rusche generosus qui obiit decimo die mensis maii MCCCCLXXXVIII.

To the west of Rusche's brass is one to Christopher Rawson. On it are engraved the figures of a man and two women; from the mouths of the latter issue scrolls respectively inscribed with "Salve nos" and "Libera nos." At the feet of the figures is the following:—

Xpher Rawson late Mercer Lond: and Merch^t of the staple at Calais which deceased 2nd day of Oct^r MDXVIII and Margaret and Agnes his Wyes, which Agnes dyed the . . .

Here the remainder of the inscription is obliterated.

Let into one of the columns of the south aisle is a brass tablet to the memory of William Armar and Elizabeth his wife. At the top of the plate is a coat of arms, and beneath that is the following quaint inscription:—

He that liveth so in the worlde
That God is pleased with all,
He nede not at the judgment day
Feare nothing at all.
Wherefore in peace lie down *will* me
And take our rest and slepe,
And offer to God in sacrifice
Our bodies and soules to kepe.
Unto that day that God shall call
Our bodies to rise againe,
Then we with other shall come together
To glorify His name.

William Armar, Esquire, sarvant to Kyng Henry the eighth, Edward the Syxte, quene Mary and quene Elizabeth (one and ffty yeares) governor of the pages of honor and fre of the City of London and of ye company of Clothwork'r', and heare under lyes buried with Elizabeth his Wyfe. We believe in the

blood of Christ only, to ryse agayne to ever-lasting lyfe. Amen. MCCCCCX.

Below this tablet is another, stating that—

This tablet was restored at the cost of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers of London by order of the Court in the year of our Lord MDCCCLXIII.

In the middle of the nave there is a fine Flemish brass to Andrew Evyngar and Ellen his wife. It is engraved with figures of a man and a boy and a woman and five girls; from the mouths of the two principal figures issue scrolls inscribed with the following invocations:—"O Filii Dei miserere mei," and "O mater Dei memento mei." The inscription at the foot of the brass has been very much defaced, the following being the only part which is uninjured:—" . . . of Andrew Evyngar Citizen and Salter and Ellyn his wife . . ." The Puritans, however, were not altogether successful in this case in their work of destruction; for, by dint of a little trouble, one is still enabled to decipher the whole inscription, which runs thus:—

Of youre charitie praye for the soules of Andrew Evyngar Citizen and Salter of London and Ellyn his Wyff on whoos soulis Jesu have m'cy. Amen.

The date of this brass is 1530.

To the east of the last is one to Roger James, Citizen and Brewer of London, who died in 1591. It is in good preservation, and interesting as a specimen of a late brass.

In the north chancel aisle, near the altar steps, is a brass, which is an excellent specimen of the French style, to the memory of John Bacon, Citizen and Woolman of London, and his wife. It is engraved with two figures, husband and wife. In the upper part of the brass is a heart, on which appears the word "Mercy"; it is encircled by a scroll, proceeding from the mouths of the figures, which bears the following sentences: "Mater Dei memento mei," and "Jesu Filii Dei miserere mei." At the feet of the figures is inscribed the following:—

Hic jacet Johes Bacon quond'm Civis & Wolman London, qui obiit VI die mens Maii A'D'm Mill'mo CCCCXXXIII et Joha v'x eius quor aiabi pi'net et Amen.

Fixed to the east wall of the church, and in the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned brass, is one to Philip Dennys, who died 3rd September, 1556.

At the west end of the north aisle, let into

the pavement, is a small brass plate to the memory of George Snayth, steward to Archbishop Laud; it bears nothing beyond the inscription, which is as follows:—

Here lyeth the body of Geo. Snayth Esq. some times auditor to Will Laud, late Arch Bp. of Cant. wch George was borne in Durham the 23rd of August 1602, and dyed the 17th of January 1651.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

There are two brasses affixed to the back of an altar tomb which stands in the north aisle; one represents a man and five sons, and the other a woman and seven daughters; from the mouths of each of the first figures rise scrolls, on which originally were invocations, but of these only a few letters now remain. Neither name nor date is visible, but in the upper corner of the tomb, towards the left hand, is a shield of arms, by means of which the tomb has been identified as that of John Croke, an alderman of London, and one of the *custos* of the fraternity founded in connection with the Church by John of Worcester, cousin to Edward IV. In the opposite aisle is an altar tomb similar to the last, but smaller and not so handsome. Against the back wall of this tomb is a small gilt plate, on which is painted a representation of the resurrection. Our Lord, who is surrounded by Roman soldiers, is shown stepping forth from the sepulchre, bearing in His hand the Banner of the Cross.

Though the Church of All-Hallows, Barking, cannot boast of possessing specimens of the very earliest brasses, those which it does contain are good specimens of their respective periods, and well worthy of inspection by all interested in the study of memorial brasses.



Discovery of Roman Remains in Westmoreland.



CORRESPONDENT forwards us a good account of some important archaeological discoveries. For more than a century the 10th Iter of Antoninus, having regard to his stations, has been a puzzle to archaeologists. The identity of the places named in it has never

been clearly defined. That Manchester is Mancunium is the one thing certain. As to Glanaventa, Galava, Alone, Galacum, Brematonacum, Coccium, Condate, and Mediolanum there is still scope for investigation. The identification of these stations is now being worked out by some of the learned societies in the North. The identity of Alone, if Alone it be, with Boroughbridge, in Westmoreland, will throw a flood of light on Roman history in Britain. Convinced of its importance, the Council of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society voted a substantial sum to enable excavations to be made. This has been done, and with what result will presently be shown. The Committee which has superintended in a most practical manner these workings consists of the Mayor of Carlisle (Mr. Ferguson), Canons Simpson, Weston, and Ware, and Messrs. Nanson and Titus Wilson. The site of the camp is eminently characteristic of the Romans. It is situated just at the confluence of the Lune and its tributary the Borrow. Its form is that of a parallelogram, the wall from north to south extending 420 ft. and that from east to west 300 ft. Here, as in most cases, the length exceeds the breadth by about one-third. The walls consist of the Silurian stone of the district, together with sand and freestone from Shap Fells and Orion Low Moor. Even with the aid of Roman waggons the labour entailed in the conveyance of these must have been great. From the camp the distance to the first-named spot is five miles, to the second six. Beyond the outer wall traces of ditch and mound, fossa and vallum, may still be seen. The latter, without the western wall, is constructed of earth faced with rubble stone. The original depth of the ditch was 3 ft., the width 5 ft., the vallum being not less than 6 ft. high and 8 ft. broad. The accumulations have been removed from the tops of the walls, and these in many places have been approached laterally. Upon each of the four sides the foundations of the walls are laid in clay, this also having been brought from a distance. The masonry is still intact, many of the stones being worked in characteristic Roman fashion and inlaid in mortar. The normal thickness of the walls is 7 ft. 6 in. The sites of three of the gateways have already been unearthed,

and near two of these have been discovered large stones containing sockets in which the pivots of the gates have turned. The gateways are 6 ft. 3 in. across—just sufficiently wide to admit a Roman chariot, and narrow enough to be easily defended. In every Roman encampment are four gateways. Each *porta* was defended by an outwork of earth and stone. Remains of these are here abundant. Vandalism is abroad in Westmoreland, and the posts of one of the gateways have been put into the foundation of a chimney in one of the neighbouring farmhouses. Two others found in the vicinity have been removed to the exact spot where they originally stood. In excavating, quantities of pottery, some exceedingly fine, have been found, and the other day a large piece having an inscription upon it was picked up. This was taken to Carlisle for examination, and may afford some important clue. Inside the camp and under the surface of the soil are flues radiating in every direction, and containing large quantities of charcoal. These may either be the remains of ovens or have served the double purpose of heating the baths and warming the tents of the soldiers. Fragments of hypocausts have been dug up, as well as several querns or grinding mills. A few pieces of money stamped on leather, "sacred relics," and a silver coin, supposed to be of Vespasian, have also been found. Outside the camp and beneath the soil of the garden attached to the little inn the workmen have come upon what appears to be the floor of a beautiful bath, but this discovery will have to be followed up. Tessellated pavements also occur, and these, together with the bath outside the camp, would seem to point to a Roman villa. There can now be no doubt that Alone belonged to the class of camps known as *castra stativa*. These camps were designed for permanent occupation. According to the Notitia here was stationed a cohort of Nervians. "Tribinus cohortis tertiæ Nerviorum Alionæ manebat." Looking from the north gate of the camp is a low alluvial tract of ground bounded by the Lune and its tributary stream, the Borrow. Here probably the Roman soldiers were drilled. The generals standing on the *fossa* could superintend and command the whole situation. The general plan of the camp must have been as follows:

There were four gates—Porta Pretoria, Porta Decumana, Porta Dextra, and Porta Sinistra. Facing the first-named gate stood the Pretorium, where resided the general and his staff. This would be fitted out according to the rank of its occupants, and here various traces of luxury usually occur. Opposite to this, and on the north side of the camp, is Porta Decumana. Two streets ran through the camp at right angles, connecting its gates. Via Principalis joined the east and west gates, and was used as a promenade by those in command. Porta Decumana was the street which in this case stood nearest the river and farthest from the enemy. Through it were brought the cattle and the whole of the provisions for the garrison. The intersecting streets naturally divided the camp into four quarters, in which in *strigæ* or rows stood the tents of the soldiers. These were arranged in parallel lines, and between them were stores for arms, baggage, horses, and waggons. Although we have only mention of one cohort being established at Alone, yet Mr. Nicholson infers that at Boroughbridge there was accommodation for six legionary cohorts of 480 men, or a total of 2,800 soldiers. This is supposing the garrison to be wholly composed of infantry, and the camp closely packed with common soldiers. But some space must be allowed for horses, some extra for superior officers, and the number of men must be proportionately reduced. As the excavations proceed it is more than probable that some relic may yet be exhumed which will prove beyond anything that has yet been adduced that the Roman station here is Alone. This is to be hoped, as by it a long-vexed question will be definitely settled.



The Tolhouse, Great Yarmouth.



It may be known to several of our readers that Great Yarmouth possesses a building of remarkable antiquarian interest called the Tolhouse. It is of moderate dimensions, and consists of a hall on the first floor and various rooms on

the ground floor, one of which is of great depth, extending far below the ground level, called the "Hold," used from time immemorial (until comparatively recently) as a common prison.

By the kindness of the Editor of the *British Architect* we are enabled to present to our readers several interesting sketches of this building, and we feel sure that these specimens of early domestic architecture will recommend themselves to all who take an interest in the antiquities of our land.

The hall is approached by an exterior staircase of early thirteenth century date, and the fabric generally is of the same early period, there being additions and alterations of later times.

The principal of these were effected in 1622, when the building was "fitted up for assemblies."

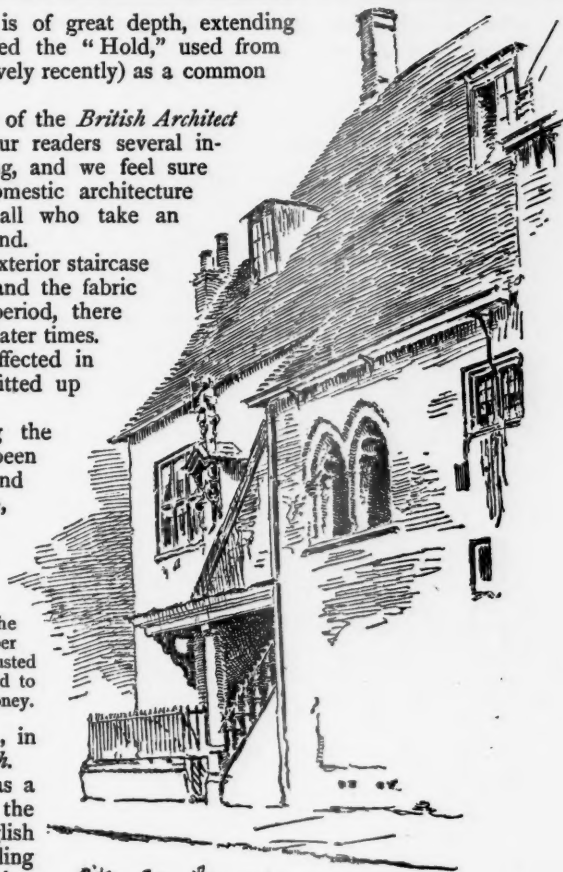
Its uses, apart from its being the municipal prison, appear to have been various; courts were held here, and it has been designated the Tolhouse, because

from a very early period the bailiffs were accustomed to receive their tolls or dues in the great chamber on the first floor. . . . It has also been called the Host House, because in the Great Chamber the hosts to whom foreign fishermen entrusted the sale of their herrings were accustomed to assemble and pay their "heightening" money.

So says Mr. C. J. Palmer, F.S.A., in his *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth*.

The use of the building also as a prison can be traced to 1261, but the charming fragments of early English detail in other parts of the building attest to an earlier date for the erection of the fabric of which the gloomy "Hold" is a portion.

This unique and picturesque building was very recently doomed to destruction, being no longer required for any corporate purpose. The local antiquaries regarded this course naturally with disfavour, and a well-organized opposition was raised. After many discussions the Town Council finally agreed, with the approval of the Crown, to hand over the building to trustees to be devoted to some public use. The preservation is thus assured, and Great Yarmouth, which is becoming, year by year, so important a place of summer resort, may be congratulated upon the retention of another object of interest to its



Bits from the Tolhouse

visitors—a building the like of which is not to be found elsewhere.

The fabric is in a very bad state of repair. It has been surveyed by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., architect to the trustees (in concert with a firm of local architects), and in his hands every point of antiquarian interest will be safe.

We have space only for a few extracts from the report which has been prepared, which are as follows:—

The main fabric of what was originally a detached building is fairly sound, considering that the bulk of the walling probably dates from the early part of the thirteenth century.

The building erected along the whole of the back (of red brick) is an addition of comparatively late date, while that in the rear, at right angles, is still later, erected for prison purposes in 1751. These later buildings are of poor and plain construction.

The roof is in bad condition, with respect to the tile coverings and their supports. Much of this has slipped, and water enters freely in many positions. In addition many of the rafters have sunk, owing to the decay of their feet, and the wall plates are badly decayed. A considerable portion of the timber appears, however, to be sound and good. Although the roof has taken its present form at the date named, many of the timbers appear to be of much higher antiquity, and the good high pitch of the roof, if not actually original, is perhaps not much less than when the building was erected.

The roof of the ancient front building is framed of massive oak rafters and tie beams, which appears to have taken its present form in 1622, when the Tolhouse was "fitted up for assemblies."

The flat ceiling of the hall was doubtless then

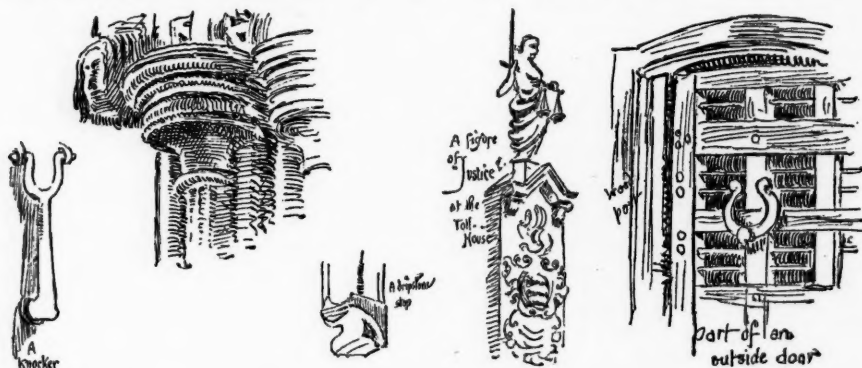
cement work from the walls. This is at present in very poor and ragged condition. It covers not only the ancient rubble work, but also the dressed angles and quoins. Its removal will effect a remarkable improvement in the appearance, for the walls which now appear modern will resume their ancient aspect.

The rubble work and the quoins will require to be carefully pointed afterwards. The ancient moulded stonework is at present covered with many coats of paint.

These should be removed, but no attempt made to re-work the stone, its ancient appearance being better than any modern facing.

We estimate the value of these works, with the contingencies that ordinarily arise in works of repair, and including the erection of certain desirable adjuncts of proper architectural character in the rear, at about £1200.

Funds are urgently needed for the work, and it is to be hoped that they will soon be



made, and the roof divided into the present poor attics.

The interior of the Tolhouse-hall has (owing to the works of 1622) but little of its original appearance. It is encumbered with the poor seats and fittings of the late court, and its proportion interfered with by the gallery over the entrance.

The roof timbers will require careful examination and repair, as well as a very considerable amount of new work, while the plain tile covering must be entirely removed, the roof timbers clad with boarding and felt, and the old tiles carefully refixed, any deficiency being made good with sound old tiles of similar character. We consider that, in opening out the old roof, whatever new timbering, etc., may be required, should be made to harmonise with these later works rather than with the early Gothic work of the thirteenth century, the appearance of a high pitched open roof alone being sufficient to make the work generally accord, without loss of any architectural fitness.

In addition to the other works it is proposed:—

To entirely remove the modern rough cast and

forthcoming. The trustees have made themselves liable for the repairs and the maintenance of the structure, in the hope that in thus performing a public duty they may receive public support.*

We hear much regret naturally expressed when some old building or another is demolished. Here is a case where a body of men have averted such a loss, and it is now for the public to show its sympathy in a practical way. In doing so they will not only be aiding in the preservation of the Tolhouse, but will be encouraging other lovers of our national antiquities throughout the kingdom to exert themselves in a similar way when occasion may arise.

* Subscriptions will be gladly received by Mr. F. Danby Palmer, one of the trustees, Great Yarmouth.

At Brading in the Isle of Wight.

BY MRS. DAMANT.



FEW years ago "the King's Towne of Bradyng" was one of the prettiest places in all the Isle of Wight. Its old red-roofed houses straggled unevenly up the long hill which is crowned by the grey church, and their small diamond-paned lattices and over-hanging eaves had not been improved into modern uniformity by new fronts and plate glass.

And the old borough still retains much of the quiet charm of antiquity, though the draining of its harbour in defiance of the threats of ancient prophecy has robbed it of some of its beauty, whilst the new railway and the Roman villa have encouraged builders to surround the village with a larger town of ugly, empty houses, reaching almost to its bran-new neighbour, Sandown. The valley between is enlivened by a sluggish and muddy stream, described in guide-book language as the silvery Yar, and on the seaward side the land rises abruptly to the Culver Cliffs.

Brading has an ancient history of its own, going far back into the feudal times; and her corporation preserves some old charters and documents showing how important the place once was, and how many privileges were granted to it in the days of the early Plantagenet kings.

One of its ancient rights—that of sending members to Parliament—it appears to have valued but lightly, and there is a petition extant from the inhabitants of Brading, praying to be relieved from this duty, as the borough was unable to support its members. Fourpence a day, the sum allowed by the town to its representatives, does not seem to us a very magnificent income for a member of Parliament, even at the rate of money in the olden time; but the ambition of representing his town was not a strong enough inducement then to outweigh all the anxious fears that beset a man who had to leave his property undefended when French invasions were not only possible but of frequent occurrence, and when ways were bad, and news from home was fitful and uncertain.

At all events, for want of men and want of means, the little town was seldom repre-

sented, and the summons for members was often returned by the sheriff with this note on the back—

Here is no citizen or burgess able to attend this parliament; they are neither used, nor ought to be required to come, on account of their poverty.

In fact, the islanders were little inclined then to leave their homes, unless indeed they might forsake them altogether for some safer inland place where they might dwell securely. But stringent old laws compelled the great men of the island to remain there under heavy penalties, and to assist in its defence; and we find them making bitter complaint of the manner in which they were treated by the Government, who in troublous times left them unprotected to struggle against their enemies. In 1449 they addressed the King, "mekely" praying him

to be enfourmed how that youre Isle of Wighte stondeth in the grettest daunger of any parte of youre Realme of Ingland, for through pestillence and werres and the oppression of extorcioners there is skante xiiic. of sensible men, and knyghtes never one. And your Castell within your seid Isle is not repered, nother the walles stoffed with men and harneys, nother with gones, gonnepowder, crosse bowes, arrowes, longe speres, axes, and gleyves, as such a place shuld be in tyme of werre. Besceith mekely your full humble subyettes of the seid Isle that may like unto your Highness to ordeyne and appoynte other elles to commaunde suche as shall occupie the said Ile through vertue of your graunte to appoint sufficient men and stuffe as may be sufficient for the defence of the seid castell, and your seid subyettes shall have no cause to voyde out of the said Isle and shall pray to God for you.

This petition, repeated at intervals, was not properly granted till a hundred years later, when Henry VIII. built the forts which his man-minded daughter put into thorough repair, and by doing so secured peace and quietness to the much-vexed Isle. In her reign we are told by Sir John Oglander that the town of Brading "contained many good livers who could afford to spend forty pounds a year each," and at that time he tells us that three knights lived in or on the borders of the parish. These good livers and knights were called upon to lend their aid in raising an island militia, and in keeping watch, under Sir John Oglander, lord of the manor, at St. Helen's Point, near Brading. A little later, when this armed band and these watchers became more regularly disciplined,

we find a table of instructions for those connected with them drawn up in 1651, and showing how thoroughly in earnest the inhabitants of the island were to guard their homes. Under the leading gentleman of the different districts watch was kept at every foreland and on every high hill, and should any watcher see

ten shipp, or more making towards the island out of the Roadway, he was to send to the Captain of the island, to "hange up the Gare," to ring all the church bells, and to send about "Hoblers" to give the Alarm. If the order be given for firing the Beacons, all the companies east of the Medina are to repair to Brading Down, and those west of the Medina to St. George's Down, there to receive directions.

Each watch must have a searcher to see that the beacons be well warded and have a quantity of "bode layed by them," and to see that the watchmen come to their watch "each with a loaded muskett and a match lighted:" and they had to visit the watch both at sunrise and sunset, to see that the men were at their posts, and if the men be not there, to see that they be punished in the stocks.

Near Brading Church are still preserved the stocks, where, doubtless, many careless watchers were corrected, and in the square tower of the church, or in a house "bullded for the purpose," was kept the parish gun, a fine old piece of ordnance of brass, cast in the reign of Elizabeth or her predecessor. Every island parish had its gun, and the holders of certain farms were bound to provide horses to draw it up to the downs when the public muster of the island militia was held. Eighteen of these old field-pieces still existed in 1795, when Albyn wrote of the island, but it is to be feared that they have all been sold as useless lumber since that time.

Having thus provided a trained band for the defence of their island the people enjoyed great peace for some time; and, in proof of the happy state of the place, Sir John Oglander, in his famous manuscript memoirs, preserved at Nunwell, near Brading, declares that no lawyer or attorney can so much as find a footing in the whole island.

I have heard (he says), and partly know it to be true, that not only heretofore there was no lawyer in our island, but in Sir George Carey's time, an attorney coming in to settle here, was by his command, with a pound of candles hanging at his breech lighted,

with bells about his legs, hunted owte of the island; insomuch as our ancestors lived here so quietly and securely, being neither troubled to London nor Winchester, as they seldom never went owte of the island; insomuch as when they went to London (thinking it an East India voyage), they always made their wills, supposing no trouble like to travail.

Sir John Oglander, whose memoirs are full of shrewd and racy remarks, and of vivid pictures of his own times, was a member of the very ancient and honourable family who were long settled in Normandy before the Conqueror brought the first lord of the manor of Nunwell to England in his train. Their name is associated with the history of the small town of Brading, and with every one of the many spirited efforts made by the gentlemen of the Isle of Wight to protect their homes from foreign enemies and their rights from overbearing governors. And in the greater history of the country the old name is not unknown, for the Oglanders were faithful to the Stuarts when the wave of civil war swept over the country and unsettled the island, and one of them followed the fortunes of King Charles the Second, and died "a loyal cavalier" at Caen, far from the pleasant woods and waters of Nunwell.

In the Oglander Chapel, as the old Lady Chapel of Brading Church is called, are the tombs and brasses of this ancient house, and among them is a small wooden effigy of the Loyalist, with two larger ones of knights in armour, recumbent on their tombs. These are quaintly carved and coloured, and among the older monuments there is a fine one of the early Tudor period, where the knight and his five kneeling sons are flanked by the dame and her daughters in strange headgear, and with all the details of the costume of the period wrought in stone, with some traces of colour still left in their garments and in the stiff petals of the Tudor rose.

But within the chancel is a still finer monument of beautiful workmanship, and superior in design to any other in the island. It is an engraved slab with a canopy, and the figures of the twelve Apostles surrounding an armed knight, whose Latin epitaph describes him John Cherowin, constable of Porchester Castle, who died in 1441. The brass has long been removed, and the tradition is that it was stolen during the civil war. Another side chapel contains two

good altar tombs, with a well-cut inscription in early English to the memory of one Bowlis, and of "Helizabeth" his wife. This family was long connected with the parish, but the name of Cherowin has been long unknown.

The church, which is a fine one with good Norman pillars, is one of great interest, as being of very great antiquity, its foundations having existed from the year 704, when Wilfrid, Bishop of Selsey, preached the gospel here and baptized the islanders, of whom legend relates that twelve hundred families embraced the new faith. From the numbers of skeletons of great size which have at different times in the history of this church been found buried near its foundations, there seems good ground for the popular belief that from Saxon times the site was sacred, either as a place of worship or as a burying-ground.

Nothing in the present building appears to point to the age claimed for it, save the remains in the west end of a large arch and a niche above the pulpit, evidently for the statue of the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated. Some letters, of which no satisfactory reading is known, are cut in relief round the arch of this niche. They are W19B.

A very plain old oaken chest may be seen, with the slit in the lid for receiving Peter's pence, and the three padlocks by which the vicar and his churchwardens kept watch on each other's honesty. In the side chapel is the handsome old chair of the Chippendale period, inlaid with white jessamine flowers and leaves, in which Legh Richmond, a former vicar, sat when he catechized the parish children, of whom "Jane, the Young Cottager," was one. Her grave, with its simple headstone, is in the crowded churchyard, and pious pilgrimages are continually made to it by people who in America, India, and other far distant countries have been delighted with her story.

Any one who, having but a dim recollection of her claims to such long-lasting fame, buys the little tract which so many windows in Brading display for sale, will find in its pages good reason for the charm it still has for so many people. Its piety is of the full-flavoured, old-fashioned type, and we who are more accustomed to tracts than the generation who hailed it so eagerly, are inclined to think

that Jane, like her famous neighbour of Arreton, the "Dairyman's Daughter," was too fond of preaching to her preacher; but still there is graphic power in the book, and its author had the delightful gift of picturing the lovely scenery of the island in such exquisitely chosen words, that elderly people in distant places, who have read in their youth these beautiful descriptions which make the background for Richmond's simple stories, still cherish ardent dreams of seeing the garden island he drew for them—dreams founded solely on these little old books—whilst withered grass from these village-graves, and the dreadful pictures done in sand of these didactic tombs, are treasured in many homes.

Another monument in this old graveyard holds the attention of the curious visitor. The beautiful lines inscribed on it are well known, and have been set to music as beautiful by Dr. Calcott. They are—

Forgive, blest shade, the tributary tear
That mourns thy absence from a world like this;
Forgive that wish that would have kept thee here,
And stayed thy progress to the seats of bliss.

No more confined to grovelling scenes of night,
No more a tenant pent in mortal clay;
Now should we rather hail thy glorious flight,
And trace thy journey to the realms of day.

This old churchyard looks best in spring, when nearly every grave has a wreath or cross of daffodils. It has a quiet, old-world air about it, with its sun-dial and its surroundings of village pound and antique timbered houses, with the neat herring-bone pattern done in brick, and the overhanging upper storeys, that are always picturesque. Some of these houses had, till recent days, rings for suspending tapestry or banners on gala days, such as the day so long observed as a holiday, when the corporation collected its annual dues from all shops and trades. On such occasions the rusty old iron ring in the market-place was doubtless surrounded by an eager crowd, for this was the scene of the bull-baiting the rude forefathers of Brading took delight in.

In fact, it does not require much observation or antiquarian knowledge for the tourist to form for himself from the relics of old times still preserved at Brading a very fair idea of English village life long ago. Almost every leading

period is represented by something in the church, from the holy water stoop, which is said to be Saxon, down to the restored Oglander Chapel, where the delicately carved screen reproduces the pretty old linen pattern with faithful fidelity. The dame and knight of the thirteenth century still pray in effigy. The piscina, now useless, remains in its place. The royal arms on an enormous canvas bear the initials of Queen Anne, and are said to commemorate Blenheim.

And within easy reach of Brading are still older remains of an elder civilization, for the famous Roman villa is but a few minutes' walk from the "King's towne"; and other antiquities, not later, are at hand, for on the downs beyond are grassy British barrows, whence have been dug arrow-heads of flint, finely worked and polished, beads, and other Celtic treasures buried with the Britons who owned them, and to whom they were precious.

No one who goes to Brading is likely to leave it without seeing the Roman villa, but it is possible that he may overlook a fine specimen of an old English manor-house near it, which, with its small and still perfect Norman chapel, is well worth seeing. Yaverland, like almost all the island manor-houses, has fallen into the hands of a farmer, who displays small care of its ancient beauties. It has some fine old carving, and a great hall where a carriage or two might drive about comfortably. Its grey walls and great mulioned windows harmonize soberly and well with its grove of fine sheltering elms. In the green close before the house two great stone shields, with coat armour boldly carved, are laid against the trunk of a tree, evidently taken from the old gateway. Close by is the chapel, referred by most historians to the time of Edward I., but evidently of much more ancient date. The arched entrance has some beautiful bold Norman work of the pure style, which was called Saxon in the beginning of this century, and the chancel arch is also richly ornamented with an uncommon pattern of chequer work with roses interspersed. Beside it a small rude staircase leads up above the arch, and may have been, as Englefield supposes, the way to an ancient ambo or pulpit, but is more probably the staircase leading to the rood-loft.

The chapel evidently is a relic of feudal

times, when each great lord had his private chantry or chapel attached to his house. This one is the only private chapel still in use, though there are evidences, both architectural and documentary, of their existence in several other manors. This fine old house of Yaverland was the home of the Russels, a family famous in island annals for bravery and public spirit, and connected with the founders of the family of the Duke of Bedford. Russel is one of the names on the roll of Isabella de Fortibus, Lady of Isle of Wight, who sold it to King Edward I.; and one of the family, Sir Theobald Russel, warden of the island in the time of Edward III., greatly distinguished himself against the French when they landed at St. Helens, and were driven back to their ships after a sharp contest, in which he was killed.

Near Yaverland is the Culver Cliff, so called from the Saxon word "*culppe*," pigeon, with which birds this cliff abounds. It was also the haunt of a particular breed of hawks, of which some were stolen in the reign of Elizabeth, who issued very peremptory orders, still to be seen, for their recovery and the punishment of the thief.

There is not space in so short a paper to do more than suggest all the points of interest which are clustered round Brading harbour, nor to describe the many efforts made to drain and to enclose it, nor to tell the old legend which links its success with the failure of the long line of the Oglanders of Nunwell.

But enough has been said, perhaps, to lead the lovers of old times and their records to "the Kynges Towne of Braydyngye."



Reviews.

A History of Southampton, partly from the MS. of Dr. Speed in the Southampton Archives. By the REV. J. SILVESTER DAVIES. (Southampton and London, 1883. Gilbert & Co.) 8vo. pp., xviii. 535.



THIS is one of the most valuable contributions to local history, and withal municipal town history, that has been published for some time. Mr. Davies has had good material to work from, and he has used it to the very best advantage. His book treats of this

important town in its rise and early history, its municipal history, its trade, charities, education, and its ecclesiastical affairs. Southampton is prehistoric as well as historic. The flint implements which have been discovered in the gravel beds of its rivers throw some light upon an age which is coming rapidly more and more within the ken of archaeology. Of British Southampton little is known save conjecture, but it is not too much to assume that a settlement would most likely have been made here. But of Roman Southampton, or rather Roman Clausentum, we have very important, and perhaps it may be said, complete evidence. At Bittern Manor House are preserved a portion of the old Roman wall still standing, a votive altar, and a large collection of coins, which have been discovered from time to time on the estate; and when the writer of this article visited the spot some two years ago, there was, in spite of modern reclamations from the sea, plenty to indicate the site of the outer walls of the place. Mr. Davies, after dealing with Roman Southampton, takes us carefully over the old site of the first town, and discusses the date of the removal to the present site, after it was burnt in the time of Edward III. Southampton has a long and interesting historical record, and not a little of the events which have taken place within its boundaries remains written in the structures of the town itself. Its ancient wall, still in part remaining, its Bargate, its Norman houses, with their tradition of once belonging to King John's Palace, all take us back to a history which Mr. Davies has told well, guided as he has been content to be by the old historical landmarks themselves.

The municipal archives are important, and have been carefully preserved. The ordinances of the Guild Merchant are to be found in an ancient and curious volume, a small quarto on vellum bound in oak covers, one being much larger than the other, and having a square hole in the lower part to put the hand through while using the volume. The handwriting of the MS. is apparently that of the first part of the fourteenth century. We have here an example of the merging of the borough government in the Guild, as the old ordinances profess to regulate both the Guild Merchant and the town. This is curious and important evidence; most of our municipal towns began as village communities, agricultural in their type and origin, and Southampton yet retains many survivals in evidence of this; but the time came when commerce ousted agriculture, when the village council became a Guild Merchant, and this epoch is perhaps one of the most important and as yet unworked phases of municipal history. Mr. Davies has wisely set out the Guild ordinances in full, and they remain therefore in these pages as evidence of this important portion of Southampton history. There is interest almost on every page of this book, as in almost every street of the town; and if we cannot linger over it in our recommendation of it to our readers it is from no lack of desire to do so. We cannot, however, close our review without adding one word of praise to the local publisher. We have, in paper, printing, and binding, a specimen of work which will worthily rank alongside of other local histories.

Corporation of Birmingham Free Libraries: Catalogue of Books, Letter A. (Birmingham, 1883.) 4to, pp. 1-98.

The Birmingham Library have done well in commencing their catalogue letter by letter, and the arrangement of this first part makes it remarkably useful to readers generally. All the publications of societies are set out in full, giving the contents of each volume; thus the entries Abbotsford Club, Arundel Society, and Archaeologia, supply a really much needed contribution to bibliographical reference literature, and when the catalogue reaches further down the alphabet, this will be even more apparent. A certain system of classification is adopted; thus we have all the books relating to Abyssinia, Africa, Agriculture, America, Architecture, Art, Astronomy, Australia, and such like subjects entered under those headings, the title of each book being again entered under the author's name. We shall look forward to the completion of this catalogue with great interest, and we congratulate Mr. Mullins upon his excellent specimen of work.

Catalogue of Works on the Fine Arts, the Galleries, Books of Costume, etc., on sale by Bernard Quaritch. (London, 1883.) 8vo, pp. vi. 929-1501.

Catalogue of Works on Foreign History, Antiquities, Archaeology, and Numismata, on sale by Bernard Quaritch. (London, 1883.) 8vo, pp. 1449-1572, 17.

These are the final instalments of Mr. Quaritch's general catalogue, and from his world-wide reputation as a collector of the most curious and out-of-the-way books, it is to be expected that we should find much in these volumes which, if we cannot buy, we can at least "make a note of." The index, occupying some fifty-three pages, closely printed in treble columns, is in itself a very valuable addition to bibliography, and many of our readers will gladly no doubt possess themselves of the catalogue if for this alone.

Religio Medici, by Sir THOMAS BROWNE, being a facsimile of the first edition published in 1642. With an introduction by W. A. GREENHILL, M.D. (London, 1883: Stock.) 8vo, pp. xxxi, 190.

This is certainly one of the daintiest specimens of the publisher's art that we have seen this season. What will book-lovers say to a new book bound in veritable wooden covers? We have applied the knife to test this, and our credulity gave way before most certain proof. Printing and paper are in accordance with the purpose of the facsimile, and altogether there seems nothing to wish for in this most acceptable addition to book curiosities which Mr. Stock labours so well to supply. Sir Thomas Browne, physician, has always been a character of great interest to the antiquary. His *Vulgar Errors*, his *Urn Burial*, have obtained for him a reputation which is well deserved, for he was a curious observer of things and events around him when it was not the fashion to be a curious observer. His *Religio Medici* was a MS. he prepared for a few friends to read, and a copy

getting into the hands of Andrew Crooke, it was printed in 1642. Sir Thomas Browne afterwards issued an authenticated edition of his work, which contains many variations from the 1642 edition. The facsimile is of course printed from the 1642 edition.

The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, with engravings from designs by Thomas Stothard, R.A., engraved by Charles Heath; and a sketch of Defoe by Henry F. Nicoll. (London, 1883: John Hogg.) 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 510.

For a Christmas or New Year's gift, whether to child or man, this perhaps will prove one of the most acceptable. Stothard's designs, often too set and lifeless, are always artistic and pleasing, and he has justly very many admirers. He is an artist England cannot afford to neglect, and in illustration of the immortal romance of Defoe he is sometimes exceptionally good. Charles Heath's engravings are deservedly popular, and the writer of this notice possesses many of the original artist's proofs of the volume before us, and he can testify to the careful reproduction of them.

The Mineral Baths of Bath. The Bathes of Bathe's Ayde in the Reign of Charles II., as illustrated by a drawing of the King's and Queen's Bath (signed 1675). Whereunto is annexed a Visit to Bath in the year 1675, by a "Person of Quality." By CHARLES E. DAVIS, F.S.A. (Bath: William Lewis & Son, 1883.) 4to, pp. 86.

The city of Bath has a history of the greatest interest, which is intimately associated with the social and literary annals of the country. This history has still to be written, but Mr. Davis has made a valuable contribution towards such a work. In the autumn of 1881, a curious pen and pencil drawing of the king's and queen's bath was purchased for the British Museum. This drawing was photographed by the Baths Committee of the corporation of Bath, and the city architect has written a short account to accompany it. The Romans discovered the virtues of the waters, and the springs have continued to flow from their time, although for several centuries these waters appear to have been neglected. The Roman city was deserted in the sixth century, but in the eighth century the springs were used, and bathing to some extent became common again. Then we hear but little of the city until the seventeenth century. Mr. Davis has given a facsimile of an early plan, but he does not give an account of this, nor does he mention the still earlier plan in William Smith's *Description of England* (1588). It appears to have been the practice for grateful persons who had benefited by the waters to give, in addition to more valuable thank-offerings, brass rings, which were inserted in the walls of the bath for the use of bathers. Thus Thomas Windham, of Witham, Esq., gave six rings to the Cross or Hot Bath, in 1664. In the year 1674 rings were given by Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, and by John Revet, "his majesty's brazier," who purchased the equestrian statue of Charles I. at Charing Cross, and buried it during the time of the Commonwealth, instead of breaking it up as he was enjoined. The inscription is as follows:—"Thanks to God, I, John Revet, his

majesty's brazier, at 50 years of age in ye present month of July, 1674, received cure of a true palsey from head to foot on one side."

Mr. Davis has been enabled to increase the supply of hot water by about fifty gallons a minute, and he hopes to regain the hot water lost for many years in the foundation of the Cross Bath. The present supply is 385,000 gallons daily at a temperature of 120° Fahr.; but this amount is likely to prove insufficient if the bathing increases as it has increased during the last seven years.

This volume has been produced in a very tasteful manner, and we hope it will soon be followed by the history of the baths from the earliest to the present time, which the author promises at no distant date.

Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District. By JOSEPH WILKINSON. (London and Derby: Bemrose & Sons.) Small 8vo, pp. xiii., 512.

Two very natural feelings are satisfied by a book such as that under review. When we visit an old house we are anxious to know something of the men and women who have inhabited it during the long years of its history; and when we read of great men we seem to get a better idea of them on associating them with the towns and villages where they lived. Mr. Wilkinson has produced an excellent book, which does much to throw over the district he has chosen as his subject a true human interest. Many men who have acted but a secondary part in the great world of London have been persons of consequence in their own county. All those whose lives are here given have made a figure in the world; but the fame of some has somewhat faded, and readers will be glad to have this fame renewed. Others, such as Joseph Bramah, the locksmith, the inventor of the hydraulic press, and many other valuable apparatuses, have left a world-wide fame. The author has added to the interest of his book by giving engravings of the houses where his worthies lived; these are Houghton Old Hall, Wombwell Hall, Monk Bretton Priory, and Wentworth Castle.

The Animal Lore of Shakespeare's Time, including Quadrupeds, Birds, Reptiles, Fish, and Insects. By EMMA PHIPSON. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883.) 8vo, pp. xvi., 476.

Ancient writers on natural history are infinitely more entertaining than modern writers, partly because they tell incredible stories, but also because they give anecdotes of habits of animals which are too often ignored in the more scientific treatises of the present day. The author of *Animal Lore* has gleaned much curious information from these old writers, and she has added to its value by bringing it forward in illustration of Shakespeare. Many books have been put under contribution, and we see the value of some of the reprints of these days, which would most probably have been overlooked if they had remained in their unique condition. Books have already been published on *The Insects Mentioned in Shakespeare's Plays*, by Robert Patterson, 1848; on the *Natural History of Shakespeare*, by Bessie Mayon, 1877; and

on the *Ornithology of Shakespeare*, by Edmund Harting, 1871; but although the ground has been to some extent occupied, the author of the present book makes good her position, and shows by the excellence of her treatment of the subject that there was room for the result of her researches. It is interesting to notice how far Shakespeare agreed with or differed from his contemporaries in respect to the characteristics of animals. Most of us remember the bet between Lord Nugent and Sir Henry Holland as to the fact whether any passage was to be found in Shakespeare commending directly or indirectly the moral qualities of the dog. Lord Nugent contended that there was no such passage, and Sir Henry Holland, after a year's search, acknowledged he was right, and paid his guinea. The great poet treated the horse far better than the dog, and shows in many passages that he loved the former animal.

The author treats her subject very fully and agreeably, and she brings forward much curious matter respecting a very large number of animals. There is a special chapter on creatures of imaginary existence, and in this we find notices of the phoenix, the griffin, the harpy, the unicorn, and, of course, the dragon. Although this last monster figures so largely in European literature, no European painter has been equal to figuring it with anything like success. If we want to see a true dragon we must go to the works of Chinese and Japanese artists.

A History of the Knights of Malta, or the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. By WHITWORTH PORTER, Major-General, R.E. Revised edition. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1883.) 8vo, pp. xv. 744.

In the year 1858, General Porter published the first edition of the present volume, and now after five-and-twenty years he again brings forward his book in an improved and enlarged form.

The Military Order of St. John has so distinguished a history that it is well that a competent author has come forward to chronicle its deeds. The English branch of the Order is intimately associated with London topography, and St. John's Gateway, at Clerkenwell, still continues to be one of the most interesting of our landmarks. In 1546 the Priory of Clerkenwell was suppressed, and the estates of the Order in England confiscated to the Crown; but when Mary came to the throne she revived the Order. In 1557 the bailiffs, commanders, and knights of St. John were once more incorporated by and under the name and title of the "prior and co-brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England." On the death of the queen evil times again came upon the Order, and one of the first acts of Elizabeth was to confiscate its property. The Master of the Revels held his office in the old priory for several years.

The list of grand masters is a long and important one, which begins with Raymond Du Puy in 1118, and ends with Ferdinand von Hompesch, in 1790. The proportion of the various nationalities is as follows:—Frenchmen, 38; Spaniards, 13; Italians, 5; Portuguese, 3; English, 2; German, 1; and doubtful, 7. The French Revolution practically killed the

Order, but it has been partially revived since. In 1831 the English *langue* was revived, and the Rev. Sir Robert Peat, D.D., was made lord prior; an office now held by the Duke of Manchester. The English branch has been very active of late years, especially in the foundation of the St. John Ambulance Association.

General Porter has produced a very handsome and important work. His descriptions of the different incidents in the history are full of interest, particularly those connected with the siege of Malta, and the manner in which that place came into our possession.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Archæological Society.—Nov. 1st.—Earl Percy, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. T. Irvine sent a paper on "Recent Discoveries in the Central Tower of Peterborough Cathedral."—A Roman tile of a peculiar form, like the seat of a modern chair, inscribed *LEG IX HIS*, was spoken of as having been found at Barnack, and lately deposited in the Natural History Museum at Peterborough.—The Baron de Cosson read a paper of much interest upon gauntlets, ranging from the fifteenth to the early part of the seventeenth century.—The Rev. J. Beck exhibited a small collection of watch-cases showing different examples of old shagreen, and horn painted with foliage and pastoral subjects, and a quantity of "watch cocks," or verge covers—objects of brasswork of the greatest delicacy and beauty, which have only lately attracted the attention of connoisseurs.—Mr. Harts-horne exhibited a smaller collection, and it was observable that no two examples were alike.

New Shakspeare.—Nov. 9.—The Rev. W. A. Harrison in the chair.—Mr. P. A. Daniel's "Introduction to the Forthcoming Facsimile of the First Quarto of 'Richard III,'" was read by Mr. Furnivall. Mr. Daniel dealt with the relation to each other of the quarto and folio versions, the settlement of which is so necessary for obtaining a satisfactory text; his conclusion being that the folio represents the play as first set forth by Shakspeare, the quarto being a shortened and revised copy of it; and that the "copy" supplied to the printers of the folio was a copy of Quarto 6, 1622, enlarged, altered, and corrected in accordance with a complete MS. in the possession of the theatre.

Society of Biblical Archæology.—Dec. 4.—Dr. S. Birch, President, in the chair.—Mr. H. Rassam read a paper entitled, "Biblical Nationalities, Past and Present."

British Archæological Association.—Nov. 21.—Mr. T. Morgan, Treasurer, in the chair.—The Rev. W. Cutting reported the discovery of a portion of a sepulchral brass close to the ruins of the Priory of St. Benet's at Holme.—Mr. C. Roach Smith sent a description of a peculiar iron implement resembling

a bill, found at a great depth in the Isle of Wight.—Dr. Stevens reported at length the exploration of the remarkable tumulus at Taplow, and the important antiquarian results.—Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited several antiquities found in London, one being a bone fork, probably of Roman date.—Mr. C. Brent described the discovery of a Roman cemetery near the site of the station of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway at Canterbury, and exhibited some of the antiquities discovered; also a fine British vase found recently at Bromley, Kent.—Mr. F. Brent exhibited a sword pronounced by the meeting to be Saracenic, which was found in a coffin in Ermington churchyard, near Ivybridge.—Mr. W. C. Smith produced a fine palæolithic flint implement found at Clerkenwell.—A paper by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, "On Recent Discoveries in Hungary and along the Line of Trajan's Wall," was then read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch.—Mr. W. C. Borlase delivered an address upon a collection of prehistoric articles obtained by him from North America and Florida, and illustrated by some specimens from Japan.

Cymmrodorion Society.—Annual Meeting.—Nov. 20th.—The Earl of Powis, in the chair.—The Secretary, Mr. C. W. Jones, read the annual report. The report stated that during the year the number of members had increased from 382 to 513, and among the new members were men whose names were known throughout the world for their literary and scientific attainments. The publications of the year consisted of the annual report; Part III. of the *Gododin* of Aneurin "Gwawdrydd" (Stephen's edition); the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, from the Red Book of Hergest, translated by Mr. John Rhys, edited by Mr. Thomas Powell and Llywarch Reynolds; and two parts of *Y Cymmrodor*. In the press are Part II., vol. ix., of *Y Cymmrodor*; the annual report, the concluding part of the *Gododin*, and in preparation *Y Marchog Crwydrad*. The transcription and editing of the MSS. has been undertaken by Mr. Howel W. Lloyd, M.A., and Mr. Egerton B. Phillimore. Turning to the report which had been read, Lord Powis remarked that the Society, during the last decade, had made very considerable progress. He felt it to be most desirable that they should at once proceed to lay the foundation of a good library, with books relating to Wales, ere the casualties of life robbed them of many of those in which its language and antiquities are enshrined. With the present opportunity he trusted that a complete Welsh library would shortly be formed by the Society. He had great pleasure in adding to it a devotional book published in Welsh some centuries ago by the Society of Jesus, copies of which had recently been found at Powis Castle. It would be well if the Cymmrodorion could procure a complete catalogue and collection of the many Welsh books published by the Society he had named. Such a catalogue would be a great literary desideratum.

Philological Society.—Nov. 16th.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, President, in the chair.—Mr. A. J. Ellis read the first part of his paper on "The Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland," dealing with the mainland only. The Highland being Celtic, the Lowlands hold all the English-speaking inhabitants. Lowland differed from English pronunciation by calling "some house" *sum hooc*, strongly trilling *r*, and habitually using the

German *ch* guttural. South Lowland, in addition, called *he, how*, almost like English *hay, how*; North Lowland used *f* for initial *wh*; and Mid Lowland did neither.

Royal Historical Society.—Nov. 15th.—Mr. James Heywood in the chair.—Mr. H. E. Malden read a paper on "The Local Distribution of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

Society of Antiquaries.—Nov. 29th.—Mr. A. W. Franks, Vice-President, in the chair.—Mr. J. C. Robinson exhibited a picture which was purchased by the Queen at the sale of the collection at Strawberry Hill. It represents a king and queen kneeling at desks, with their sons and daughters behind them, while above them is St. George and the dragon, and the princess with her lamb. It is supposed to have been the altar-piece at the Charterhouse of Shene, but there is no evidence beyond tradition to support this view.—Mr. Scharf read a paper, in which he argued that the figures could not represent Henry V. and his Queen, as suggested by Walpole, but probably were intended as portraits of Henry VII. and his family.

Numismatic.—Nov. 15th.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Dr. Evans exhibited a portion of a hoard of clippings from English silver coins dating from the time of Elizabeth to that of Charles I. The hoard was found near Frome.—Mr. J. W. Trist exhibited a specimen of the tetradrachm of *Æsillas*, quaestor in Macedon in the early part of the first century B.C.—Mr. G. D. Brown exhibited a gold coin of Crispus *Cæsar*, *rev.* Victory, struck at Sirmium; and a gold coin of Cunobeline similar to Evans (*Ancient British Coins*, plate ix. 3).—Mr. H. Montagu brought for exhibition the following coins: a penny of Harthacnut struck at Dorchester, reading GODPINE ON DORCE, Dorchester being a mint hitherto unknown on the money of Harthacnut; a Piedfort half-groat of Edward III.; a Tower crown of Charles I., m.m. Lis, a new variety, with a plume over the shield on the reverse; an unpublished Commonwealth half-crown by Ramage with unscripted edge; a gold proof of the shilling of George III., 1816; and a five-shilling token of Bishop de Jersey & Co., stamped over a Spanish dollar of Charles IV.—Canon Pownall exhibited four Papal medals (three of Paul II. and one of Sixtus IV.). One of those of Paul II. represented the consistory in which George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, was declared to be deprived of his crown for favouring the Hussites.—Dr. Frazer also exhibited two Papal medals, one of Paul II. and one of Sixtus IV.—The Baron L. de Hirsch communicated a paper on some unique and unedited Sicilian coins in his own collection.—Mr. Evans read a second notice of some Roman coins discovered in Lime Street, London.

Royal Asiatic Society.—Nov. 19th.—Sir Bartle Frere in the chair.—Mr. Habib A. Salmons read a paper on "The Importance to Great Britain of the Study of Arabic." He called attention to the fact that the study of Arabic was greatly neglected in England, as compared with what was done abroad; the Roman Propaganda maintaining a constant succession of pupils in various Eastern languages, Russia having its college for the same purpose at Kazan,

Austria its college at Vienna, and France its "Ecole pour les Langues orientales vivantes."

Anthropological Institute.—Nov. 13th.—Professor Flower, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. E. Price exhibited a selection of objects from ancient grave mounds in Peru.—Dr. Garson exhibited two iron lamps that he had procured from the Orkney Islands for the Oxford University Museum. They were very similar to the lamps of the Eskimo. Each consists of two flat receptacles, prolonged into a spout-like depression on the anterior portion.—The Director (Mr. Rudler) read a paper by Mr. Edward Palmer on "Some Australian Tribes."

Nov. 27th.—Professor Flower, President, in the chair.—Dr. J. G. Garson read a paper "On the Cranial Characters of the Natives of Timor-laut."—Mr. H. O. Forbes read a paper "On the Ethnology of Eastern Timor," referring especially to the religious rites of the people of certain regions, conducted by a priest in what is called the Taboo House, with an intricate and imposing ceremonial; to their marriage ceremonies and customs, which in some districts remind one of the Australian totem system in the occurrence of "husband" clans and "wife" clans; to their death and burial rites; to their system of law and justice, under which, though the chief was king and judge, each "freeman" had the right—or took it—of private war, and retaliated on the wrongdoer with his own hands for loss in his property or person.

Royal Society of Literature.—Nov. 28th.—Mr. J. Haynes, Vice-President, in the chair.—Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael read a paper entitled, "The Vatican Library and the Recent Letter of Pope Leo. XIII."

PROVINCIAL.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Nov. 12.—Mr. J. W. Clark, President, in the chair.—A communication was read from the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare, on certain stones discovered in the river bed at Barrington. During the past month one of the two mills mentioned in Domesday as belonging to Barrington has been done away with, and the foundations dug out from the river bed. Amongst these foundations were discovered 13 large blocks of clunch (18 x 12 x 6 inches) boldly carved on one face (18 x 6 in.) with egg and dart moulding. The blocks were laid flat with the moulding embedded in gault, part being in some cases cut away for the sake of making a closer fit to the adjoining stone. The preservation of the work is in several parts of exquisite clearness. It seems most probable that we have here fragments of some large Roman building. That some such large Roman building existed in the immediate neighbourhood may be conjectured from the very numerous ash-pits of the period found while digging the adjoining field for coprolites, and from an almost complete series of coins having been unearthed in the parish, covering the whole period of the Roman occupation. The ash-pits referred to contained the usual bones, with fragments of coarse pottery (in one instance of Samian bearing the mark CIRSTIO TITI, and seemed to belong to poor houses, perhaps slaves' quarters, indicating the neighbourhood of some larger edifice of which they were dependencies. In this connection it is interesting to find that the next field, sloping down

to the river—the very ideal of a Roman site—has from time immemorial been called "The Brick Hall," and is mentioned by that name in documents of the fourteenth century.—The Secretary exhibited a silver statuette of *Fortuna Nemesis*, upon which the following description and criticism by Mr. C. W. King were read:—"A draped female figure, four inches high, with long drooping wings, bearing the cornucopie in the one hand, in the other the handle of a rudder, at the foot of which rests a wheel, while with the thumb and fore-finger she holds both a patera and the money-bag (*crumena*) of *Mercury*. Above her shoulders are placed busts of *Sol* and *Luna*, the one crowned with rays, the other with the crescent. But it is upon her head that, as reason would, the designer has lavished all the wealth of symbolism. She wears the *helmet*, the peculiar distinction of *Virgo* in the Zodiac, which again is encircled by the turreted crown of *Cybele*: from each side spring the cow's horns of the great goddess of Egypt; on its crest is set the *modius* of *Serapis*: on the summit of all rests the Winged Orb, the *Mir*, the universal Phœnician type of the Supreme Being, 'the Sun of Righteousness with healing in His wings.'"

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—The Rev. G. Rundle prepared a paper called "Some Facts connected with old Cornish History." He would begin now with a few words on Charms. For a child who has thrush, say in the morning thrice the second verse of the eighth psalm. For tooth-ache.—Begin, every morning, the act of dressing by putting the stocking on the left foot. For a bad eye.—Pierce the shell of a living snail, and let the exuding liquid fall on the eye. For warts.—Cut a stalk of corn at one of the knots; cross it seven times over the wart; then bury it. Take a piece of meat; cross it seven times over the warts; then hang it on a thorn-tree to rot. The power of the seventh son of a seventh son is very interesting to us, as being quoted by Cornelius à Lapidé, as existing in Flanders in his day, some two hundred years ago. Mundic as a charm.—Mundic being applied to a wound, immediately cures it, which the workmen are so sure of that they use no other remedy than washing in the water that runs from the mundic-ore. Old Customs.—1st of May.—On that day it was the custom, in Landrake, to give the person who plucked a fern as much cream as would cover it. On Shrove Tuesday.—It is the custom to unhang gates, as well as to eat pork-chops and eggs, besides customary pan-cake. On May-Day, in Landrake, it was customary to chastise, with sting-nettles, anyone found in bed after six a.m. For epilepsy to walk round the church altar thrice. On St. Stephen's Day.—Every youth and boy who can beg, borrow, or steal a gun on that day, goes out to shoot birds. On New Year's Eve.—It is the custom to place a piece of silver on the window-sill. This is said to bring good luck. A piece of flea-bane used to be placed, in harvest time, in the first "arish mow" that was made. Blowing horns before the house of a newly-married couple.—An amusing reason has been assigned for this custom, in the parish of St. Breage. It is said the inhabitants finding it impossible to make sufficient noise with the one bell hung in the tower, and not liking to be outdone by other parishes, hit

upon the happy expedient of making good the deficiency by using horns. Col-Perra.—John mentions the custom of persons going from house to house, begging a Col-perra tabban (morsel) on Shrove Tuesday. He does not, however, give the rhyme, which is in use on that occasion. It begins Han-cock, Han-cock. On Christmas-Eve children demand, and are never refused, from shop-keepers, a couple of pins. With this they play at a singular game thus. A cup is placed on the table, round which the children gather. They drop pins over the cup, the child whose pin crosses another wins the game and receives all the pins as a forfeit. Superstitions.—St. Veryan.—There is a belief that if the clock in the church-gallery strikes during the time of service, a member of the congregation will die during a short period. This is said to have happened in the case of a recent vicar.

Cambridge Philological Society.—Nov. 8.—Prof. Mayor in the chair. Mr. Ridgeway read a note on the use of *de* as a preposition, with a view to explain (1) its being found in combination with the acc. case, and (2) the fact that its use is usually confined to persons.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

—Nov. 20.—Mr. W. E. A. Axon in the chair.—The discussion of the subject of the Roman road over Blackstone Edge was held. Dr. Colley-March said that the road was Roman in all its physical characteristics. The manner in which it was made appeared to be Roman. The foundation was of sand and rubble, and in this the stones of the causeway were bedded. The pavement was convexly arched from side to side, and its centre was formed by a line of large blocks of millstone grit, to which the ordinary sets were built up, while they were supported on the outside by buttressed curbstones. The mode of foundation drainage was also Roman, and was that of a bilateral foss or ditch on either hand. The route, or direction, too, was Roman. It ascended the steepest slope not only without winding, but in a line at right angles to the crest of the hill; and he was not aware of any pack-horse track in the kingdom of which this could be stated. The western portion was the most interesting, from its containing a line of trough stones, which occupied the centre of a causeway 16 ft. across, or, measured within the curbstones, a compact paved roadway 15 ft. wide. The gradient was about one in five. He proceeded to discuss at great length two theories as to these trough stones—the pedal or foot furrow theory, and the skidding theory. A pack-horse track, if a highway, was called a "pack and prime way." Such roads were made of a series of thick transverse blocks of millstone grit, on which horses walked, and which they often wore into deep furrows. There was a side pavement for foot passengers, but no provision for wheeled vehicles. It was difficult to conceive that a driver could compel his galloways, or that they would themselves prefer, to toil up a gradient of one in five in a mathematically straight line and on a perfectly smooth surface—because if the trough was made by horses' feet the stones must have been once entirely without a groove—when they could wind to and fro on a spacious and even road whose pavement afforded ample foothold. Something had been said about a "straddle mark" at the bottom of a pack-horse furrow. There was

sometimes the faintest possible indication that such a furrow had been made by two feet. He had made many examinations, but he had never seen a stone, much less a line of stones, in a pack-horse furrow with a genuine convex bottom. Its usual shape was a true and even concavity. In the western slope of the Blackstone Edge he doubted if there was one stone which presented an even concavity. The wheel ruts on the Blackstone Edge road, he maintained, though variable in appearance, were constant in position. The size of the ruts, taking the narrowest as their guide, showed that the wheels that wore them were two inches broad. A Roman chariot wheel, with the woodwork petrified, had been found at Portici. The tire was of iron, and measured forty-eight inches in diameter, one in thickness, and two in breadth. He pointed out in detail the position of the wheel ruts with regard to the trough as supporting the skidding theory.—Mr. Wm. Horsfall exhibited a section and a diagram showing the grooving by traffic of a number of steps, known as Jacob's ladder, leading from Smedley Road, Cheetham, to a street at the back of St. Oswald's Church, Collyhurst.—Mr. Geo. Esdaile, who read the second paper, said the road was probably on the line of Watling Street, and was utilised and paved by the Romans. It was, in all probability, the main road for all traffic from Lancashire to Yorkshire. At Lydiate and one other place they found parts of troughed roads similar to that over Blackstone Edge. At Lydiate the road was comparatively level, which would certainly dispose of the aqueduct theory. The Romans had chains, according to Seneca, and a sufflamen, or trigger, which they thrust through both wheels of their vehicles, effectually scotching both. The Roman soldier wore a heavy nail-shod wooden shoe, and the common people clogs, also well nailed. He thought these stones would during the Roman occupation, and for the 1,200 years after that occupation ended, be worn by these nailed shoes and clogs, and that the scotching of the wheels of the vehicles and the use of the slipper would contribute to the wear.—Mr. E. Kirk read a letter from Mr. T. Watkin, in which he said that, having read all the correspondence on the subject, he was still of the same opinion as when he wrote *Roman Lancashire*, that a three-wheeled vehicle, or trolly, was the main use of the trough, but that most probably skidding also took place. He (Mr. Kirk) thought the pack-horse road was not the one now under discussion, but was on the course of the present turnpike road. In support of this view he quoted from an Act dated 1734, giving power to repair the road. He pointed out that the points of the trough stones were worn round as if by a revolving wheel, and not planed, as might be expected if a slipper were used or the wheels skidded.—Mr. J. E. Bailey thought the object of the grooves had been discussed without due reference to the post-Roman history of the road. The road came into notice in the civil wars, and was plainly indicated by John Ogilby, the King's cosmographer, in 1675. The first Act of Parliament concerning the road is dated 8 George II. Its purpose was to repair and widen the road from Rochdale, leading over a "certain craggy mountain called Blackstone Edge." It enumerated the bad qualities of the old road, broken up by "many and heavy carriages." Whitaker men-

tioned the road twice, but not with any detail. He was rather taken up with making a northern road from Slack to Colne. On the authority of the Rev. John Watson, Whitaker said that the Devil's Causeway was called the Danes' Road by the shepherds of Rishworth. A survey of the road into Yorkshire was completed in 1759 by Mr. R. Whitaker. It was finished by 1766, and Collier termed it "that excellent and beautiful way," and gives some curious particulars about the way it was made, the streams of the hills being pressed into the service. Other Acts relating to the road were dated 6, 35, and 55 George III. So late as 1830, on Teesdale's map, the road was termed the new road to Halifax.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—Dec. 10th.—Mr. Ramsay of Kildalton, M.P., in the chair.—Mr. J. R. Findlay, the secretary, called attention to a group of four *figurine*, or small statuettes of terra-cotta, from Tanagra, in Boeotia, which he had obtained in Naples. These charming little figures were found in considerable numbers in the ancient necropolis of Tanagra. The tombs were of two kinds—an earlier series, with painted vases; and a later, which consisted of cists formed of slabs of tuft arranged in rows. The *figurine* were found sometimes in the cists, sometimes on the covering stones. Their object was not explained in ancient literature; but they are works of art of a very high class, exhibiting a peculiar beauty and sweetness of expression, and are valuable as giving types of the familiar life of the Greeks that are nowhere else to be found. The first paper, by Dr. Robert Munro, gave an account of the Megalithic monuments of Holland, and their associations with analogous remains in Northern Europe, from observations made during a recent tour through the Low Countries and Scandinavia. With the exception of a remarkable group of rude stone monuments called Hunebedden, or Giants' Graves, which are found in the north of the country, Holland possesses no Megalithic remains of any kind. These Hunebedden, of which Dr. Munro visited a considerable number, are elongated chambers, the sides and ends formed of large stones set in the ground, supporting enormous covering stones. When there was an entrance to the chamber, it seems to have been placed usually on the long side facing the south, the direction of the chambers being generally east and west. In some instances they were surrounded by a second range of smaller stones, but only a few show indications of having been formerly covered by an earthen mound. No traces of bronze or any instruments of metal have been found in them, and Mr. Franks has assigned them to the age of polished stone implements. During the years 1866-68 these monuments were threatened with complete destruction, owing to the peasants having commenced to break up the stones for road metal; but fortunately the Government interfered, and purchased the land on which they were situated, and they are now preserved as national monuments. Akin to these Megalithic monuments of Holland are the Giants' Graves, of Denmark, of which Dr. Munro described a characteristic example visited by him at Roeskilde. The chamber was about 8 yards long, 3 yards broad, and rather over 6 feet high. The roof, which was formed by four immense blocks of stone, was supported by fifteen great slabs set also on end, which completed the circumference of the chamber. This sepulchral construction differed from those

in Holland by being wholly covered by a great conical mound of earth. The objects found in these Danish chambered mounds are entirely of the Polished Stone Age. Dr. Munro next described the Stone Age burials of Sweden. In this country the Megalithic tombs are confined chiefly to the southern provinces, and number in all about 500. Their variety of construction is greater than in Denmark and Holland; Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg are rich in similar monuments of the Stone Age, and Dr. Munro exhibited photographs of several in the district of Stralsund and the Isle of Rugen, taken for Dr. Rudolf Baer, to whom he was indebted for duplicates. The second paper was entitled "Notes on some Continental Museums—in France, Central Germany, and Belgium," by Dr. Joseph Anderson. In the third paper, entitled "Notes on some Continental Churches," Mr. J. R. Walker called attention to the characteristic features of some of the finest of the Gothic and Romanesque churches of the North of France, the Rhine and Belgium, illustrating his remarks by an extensive series of photographs and a number of drawings of fonts made during a recent tour in company with Dr. Anderson.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Ancient Art Industry in Florence.—*Carving and Inlaying in Wood.*—The same causes which made the school of decorative sculpture in Siena famous have acted on that of wood-carving, of which Antonio Barili, who worked at the end of the fifteenth century, is the most celebrated representative. Two styles of wood-carving are practised in Siena—the one highly finished work of great delicacy and beauty, which is employed for frames or furniture of the highest class, and which, from the time it takes to execute, must necessarily be expensive; the second, which may be termed commercial, though in its way equally artistic with the first, is bolder and less finished, struck out for effect, and allowing commissions to be taken on a large scale for decorative purposes at moderate prices. The style of carving in vogue is, generally, in imitation of fifteenth and sixteenth century work, but the imitation is by no means servile, nor does it exclude original design. *Inlaying in Marble and Decorative Sculpture.*—The celebrated marble pavement of the Duomo of Siena was commenced in the fourteenth century, the patterns being originally indicated in simple outlines "a graffio." In process of time the work was perfected by Beccafumi in the first half of the sixteenth century, the pavement being inlaid with marbles of various colours in chiaroscuro. The constant need of restoration has made this art hereditary among Sieneese artists, and, at the present day, it is well carried out not only as regards the repairs of old work, but in new compositions. In the workshops of the "Opera del Duomo," or Cathedral Board of Works, the artists employed are allowed to execute private orders on their own account. The works at the cathedral

are being actively carried on, owing to a legacy left by a late rector, under the superintendence of the present administrator, Cavaliere Rubini. Of late years the whole pavement of the Duomo has been restored, and large figure pieces have, in addition, been executed after the designs of Professor A. Franchi, with ornaments by Signor L. Maccari. *Bricks and Ornamental Works in Terra-Cotta.*—The province containing excellent clays, brick-making is largely exercised, but apparently in the old-fashioned way—no "Hoffman" or similar kilns having been erected. In the fifteenth century the art of ornamentation in terra-cotta was extensively carried out, and fine examples still remain in many of the old palaces of Siena. Good modellers are still to be found, but the efforts of some of the best brickmakers to restore the art have not met with response on the part of the public. [*Reports of H.M. Consuls, Part ix. (c. 3736), 1883, pp. 1347-9.*]

Antiquity of Banking ("Monte dei Paschi") in Italy.—After the conquest of the republic of Siena by Cosimo di' Medici, in the middle of the 16th century, many years elapsed before the country returned to its former prosperous condition. The work of war and rapine had been complete. Money was scarce and dear, and, in consequence, trade languished and agriculture was neglected. To find some means of coming in aid of agriculture and commerce was therefore a necessity, and it was believed that a salutary impulse might be given to both by the establishment of a bank empowered to grant loans at a reasonable rate of interest to landed proprietors, farmers, and merchants belonging to the Siennese State. For this purpose the "Monte dei Paschi non Vacabile" of Siena was founded in 1622-24. The first difficulty to be overcome was to find capital where none existed; this was effected in the following manner. The dues paid for the right of pasturage in the "Maremma" formed a royalty which had passed from the republic of Siena to the Grand Ducal treasury; they produced a yearly income of 10,000 scudi, and were valued at 200,000 scudi (1,176,000 lire). These dues were granted by the Grand Duke as an eventual guarantee in favour of the new bank, the city of Siena, and such other cities and places in the Siennese State as should desire to avail themselves of the advantages of the bank, becoming legally bound to indemnify the Grand Ducal treasury from all responsibilities which might arise under this guarantee. The towns entering into this agreement were termed "comunità capitolate." The dues forming the guarantee were administered as before by the "Dogana dei Paschi" for the Grand Duke, and, as a matter of fact, they were never required by the bank, but they formed the basis on which the bank was able to commence operations. The nominal guarantee of 200,000 scudi was divided into 2,000 "luoghi," or bonds, of the value of 100 scudi each, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent. The bonds were placed in the market, as money was required to grant the loans for which application was made; they were purchased by public corporations, or private individuals belonging to the city of Siena, or to any of the "comunità capitolate." Loans could

only be granted to persons in the same localities. The rate of interest charged was 5½ per cent., the two-thirds being intended to cover all expenses. The loans were made on the personal security of the debtor and one surety, which included a liability to loss of liberty as well as of his estate, in case of failure of payment, until after the introduction of the French system of mortgage in 1808, when a mortgage guarantee was substituted. Whoever wished to purchase one or more "Luoghi di Monte" first deposited the amount in the treasury of the bank. This deposit bore no interest, and was at the disposal of the depositor. On application being made for a loan the bank alienated, and the depositor bought a corresponding number of "Luoghi di Monte," the proceeds of the sale furnishing the money required to grant the loan asked for. The right of proprietorship in the "Luoghi" was complete, with the single exception that, in case of their sale or attachment by legal process, the bank had the right of pre-emption. There was no limitation to their transfer by will. These "Luoghi di Monte" were, in the opinion of Signor C. Bartolini, the present secretary-general of the "Monte dei Paschi," the first examples of negotiable mortgage bonds met with in Europe, and as they are anterior by nearly a century and a half to the "Pfand-Briefe," invented by Wolfgang Büiring, of Berlin, in 1767, the merit of the invention of this useful instrument should be placed to the credit of Italy. M. Bartolini bases his argument on the fact that the "Luoghi" contained a direct guarantee on immovable property, were transferable, bore interest, and corresponded to a loan of an equal amount, thus containing all the characteristics of negotiable mortgage bonds ("cartelle fondiarie"). [*Reports of H.M. Consuls, Part ix. (c. 3736), 1883, pp. 1356-7.*]

Pillory in Cheapside in 1762.—The following quotation gives us an idea of London about 120 years ago:—"A man about sixty years of age stood on the pillory in Cheapside for a detestable crime. The populace fell upon the wretch, tore off his coat, waistcoat, shirt, hat, wig, and breeches, and then pelted and whipped him till he had scarcely any signs of life left; he was once pulled off the pillory, but hung by his arms till he was set up again, and stood in that naked condition, covered with mud, till the hour was out, and then he was carried back to Newgate."—*Gent. Mag., 1762, p. 549.*

Ancient Country Life.—Sidonius (lib. ii. epistle 9) has described the country life of the Gallic nobles, in a visit which he made to his friends, whose estates were in the neighbourhood of Nismes. The morning hours were spent in the sphæristerium, or tennis court; or in the library, which was furnished with Latin authors (profane and religious), the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice served, at dinner and supper, with hot meat (boiled and roast) and wine. During the intermediate time the company slept, took the air on horseback, and used the warm bath. (See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ii., page 315.)

Limits of the old republic of Siena, and the cities and communes of other Tuscan provinces were inscribed among the "Capitolate." The custom lasted as a formality until 1863.

* In process of time the advantages of the bank were extended, at their request, to places beyond the

Early Spelling Reform.—The following quotation from a letter of John Horne (Tooke) is interesting as bearing upon the great dictionary of Dr. Sheridan:—"Sheridan is at Blois by order of his Majesty, and with a pension, inventing a method to give the proper pronunciation of the English language to strangers, by means of sounds borrowed from their own; and he begins with the French." (*Hist. Mans. Com.* iv. 401.)

The Pillory in Westminster in 1763.—The following paragraph in the news columns of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763, page 311, affords another glimpse of old London life:—"Three men stood on the pillory opposite Westminster Hall door, for perjury in a cause relating to the right of an estate in Leicestershire. One of them was upwards of seventy years old, and another more than sixty. Their tears and grey hairs drew compassion from the people, and instead of being pelted, money was collected for them."



Antiquarian News.

A singular custom was observed on Monday morning at Knightlow Hill (a tumulus), on the London Road, about eight miles from Rugby, and which has taken place on Martinmas morn from time immemorial. St. Martin's occurring this year on Sunday, the ceremony was postponed until Monday. On the tumulus there was formerly a roadside cross, of which only the morticed base now exists, which is hollowed out. Here, before sunrise, the Duke of Buccleuch's steward reads from a folio book "Wrok (or Swarf) money due and payable at Knightlow Cross on Martinmas eve before sunrise; nonpayment thereof, forfeiture of 20s. for every penny, or a white bull with red ears and red nose." Then the constables or other responsible persons of 25 parishes in the Hundred have to pay sums varying from 1d. to 2s. 3½d. The whole having been paid, the bailiff of the court for the Knightlow Hundred takes charge of it, and it is duly accounted for to his Grace's steward, and entered in a book. Mr. Gomme in his *Primitive Folkmoos* discusses this custom.

A few days since, as Mr. Isaac Hoare, of Easten, near Devizes, whose garden is under the high bank of the green sand formation, was planting a tree and taking a spit of earth from the bank, there rolled out a bright coin, which upon being inspected proved to be a gold noble of Edward III., 1346, coined in commemoration, as is supposed, of the great naval victory which he in that year obtained off Sluys over the French. The value of a noble at that time was 6s. 8d., but as then 2½d. would purchase a bushel of wheat, 6s. 8d. was a respectable sum. The coin is one and three-eighths of an inch in diameter, and the impression on each side is very distinct.

A large number of ancient documents belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle have been found in a box which was stowed away in a shed in a city stoneyard. The box contained papers, books, parchment rolls, and letters. For the most part they appear to be records of the proceedings in the ancient City Court,

generally known as the Mayor's Court, which was discontinued shortly after the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act in 1835. The documents go as far back as the fourteenth century.

It is gratifying to find that steps are now being taken in earnest to preserve and render accessible the valuable records relating to Yorkshire, which now for the most part lie scattered and in danger of damage and destruction. Attention was directed to this subject some years ago, when it was found that the splendid collection of wills which had been proved at York during five centuries was about to be removed to London. So strong and widely-spread was the opposition with which this proposal was received that the project was abandoned, and arrangements have since been made for the safe and permanent preservation of these documents at York, in the centre of the district to which they relate. In 1882 a bill was introduced into Parliament for the removal to London for safe custody of all parish registers more than fifty years old, and the strongest opponents of this measure were obliged to admit that under existing arrangements adequate provision was not made for the preservation of these valuable records. The meetings which were held in Yorkshire to consider this measure have resulted in the formation by the Yorkshire Archaeological Association of a special department devoted exclusively to the publication of parish registers and other county records.

A little book treating chiefly of the Orkney Islands will be issued by Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall & Co. in a few weeks. It is entitled *Rambling Sketches in the Far North*, and is written by Mr. R. Menzies Ferguson. Besides containing chapters upon historical and archaeological subjects, with descriptions of the principal isles, it will treat of the customs and superstitions of Orkney, land tenure, farming, folklore, and fairy tales.

Ancient ruins, which surpass anything of the kind yet discovered on the American Continent, have been found in Sonora, about four leagues south-east of Magdalena, Mexico. There is one pyramid which has a base of 4,350 feet, and rises to a height of 750 feet. It has a winding roadway from the bottom leading by an easy grade to the top, wide enough for carriages to pass over, which is many miles in length. The outer walls of the roadway are laid in solid masonry from huge blocks of granite in rubble, and the circles are as uniform and the grade as regular as could be made at this date by the best engineers. To the east of the pyramid a short distance is a small mountain about the same size, and rising to about the same height. On the sides of this mountain a people of an unknown age have cut hundreds upon hundreds of rooms, from five by ten to sixteen to eighteen feet square. These rooms are cut out of solid stone, and so even and true are the walls, floor, and ceiling, so plump and level, as to defy variation. There are no windows to the rooms, and but one entrance, which is always from the top. The rooms are eight feet high from floor to ceiling. On the walls are numerous hieroglyphics and representations of human forms, with feet and hands of human beings cut in the stone in different places. Stone implements of every description are to be found in great numbers in and about the

rooms. It is, of course, a matter of much speculation as to who the inhabitants were, and in what age they lived. Some say they were the ancestors of the Mayos, a race of Indians who still inhabit Southern Sonora, who have blue eyes, fair skin, light hair, and are said to be a moral, industrious, and a frugal race of people, who have a written language, and know something of mathematics.

The *Arena* of Verona says that at San Briccio, near St. Pietro di Lavagna, during the excavation of some foundations for some fortifications in course of construction, there were found at a depth of more than fifteen feet upwards of 200 skeletons of extraordinary size, many being above six feet long. They were deposited side by side at a distance of about 15 inches from each other, and beside them were weapons, brooches, earrings, etc., in bronze. Many horns and bones of animals were also found, one of a mammoth, and an under jaw, a foot and a half in length, as well as marrow-bones similar to those found under the ancient lake dwellings.

Mr. Reginald Lane Poole has sent to press for the Wyclif Society his edition of the Reformer's important treatise *De Dominio Civili*, in three books; books i. and ii. from the unique Vienna MS. 1341, and book iii. from the likewise unique Vienna MS. 1340. The Wyclif Society hopes to issue this work to its members next year.

A most interesting discovery has been made in the course of the excavations near the spot where the pedestals with inscriptions to the Vestal Virgins were discovered in the Forum at Rome. It consists of an earthenware vessel, containing a *fibula*, bearing the name of Pope Martin III., who died in 946, and one gold and 824 silver Anglo-Saxon coins, bearing the names of the Kings Edward the Elder, Athelstane, and Edmund I., who reigned from 901 to 946, including also some coins of the archbishops of Canterbury, then the metropolitans of England. It is supposed that the money was tribute, or Peter's Pence, sent by the Anglo-Saxons to Rome. This discovery, moreover, affords clear proof that the excavations have reached a spot never hitherto explored; and great anticipations are entertained as to what may be revealed when the exorbitant demands of the Nuns of the Tor de Speech, who own the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, have been satisfied, and that absolutely uninteresting and long useless edifice has been demolished.

The *Diario de Brazil* says that while workmen were clearing out the river Joanna, one of the small streams flowing through Rio, a large and very old cedar chest was come upon buried in the mud, and when opened was found to contain many valuables, with gold and diamonds, such as lamps, swords, etc., which were taken to the Museum. As usual, the treasure trove is supposed to have belonged to the Jesuits, and to have been thrown by them into the river when pressed in their flight from Rio.

A selection of several of the finest numbers of the Stowe MSS., lately acquired by the authorities of the British Museum, is now on view at the southern entrance of the King's Library. An illustrated catalogue is in course of preparation, and will be issued, we believe, in a few days.

Superstition still lingers in the Black Country, as was evidenced by a case heard at Brierley Hill on Monday. The defendant was a woman named Jane Wootton, and the charge against her was that on meeting another female named Lowe she pulled her ears and scratched her face with a needle. She admitted these facts, and gave as the explanation for her conduct that she was bewitched by Lowe, and had been told the spell would be removed if she scratched her across the face and drew blood. The Magistrates, after commenting on the silliness of the defendant, dismissed the case.

St. Mary's Church, Swillington, has been re-opened after undergoing partial restoration and several improvements. The tower of the church, which was in a very dilapidated and dangerous state, has been completely renewed, at considerable cost. The west door has been thrown open, and now forms the main entrance into the church. The bells, three in number, and of interesting antiquity, have been carefully re-hung, and room made in the bell chamber for others to be put in if so required. The outside of the church has been repaired and pointed, the roof being made secure against wet.

Mr. James Parker, of Oxford, has completed the excavation of a Roman villa in a field at Frilford, near Abingdon, and succeeded in making a plan of its formation. As nearly as can be made out, the villa consists of eight or ten rooms, the largest of which is about sixteen feet square, and the whole series is about seventy feet in length and between twenty and thirty feet in breadth. At the south-eastern corner of the dwelling, where the larger rooms are situated, was found a singular hypocaust, or subterranean stove for heating the building. At this point was also found a large quantity of tesserae, some of which were interesting from the fact that they were of white marble, and therefore must have come from another district. At a little distance to the east are traces of one or two other chambers, but only vestiges of the walls remain, the greater portion having evidently been taken away at some former period. Part of the bottom of this chamber or chambers is composed of concrete made of pounded tile about an inch thick, apparently for holding water, while underneath the lower wall were found a couple of drainage pipes in the most perfect condition. One of these appears to have communicated between the bath and what was apparently a pond a hundred feet off.

We learn that the trenches for the new hotel on the Thames Embankment have been excavated to a depth of from thirty-six to forty feet. Below what was formerly the bed of the river, there have been found, at a depth of sixteen feet, a row of mooring piles, and thirteen feet from the present Embankment wall an old river wall had to be removed, and at a distance of twenty-nine feet a second wall had to be similarly dealt with. Some very fine specimens of fossils were discovered, as also the remains of the old mansion formerly occupied by the Dukes of Norfolk.

An extraordinary discovery of an ancient cave has been made at Windle Hall, near Weston, on the top of a sloping field, about three hundred yards from the road which leads from Willeston, and joins the Chester

high road at Hinderton. The excavation is believed to have been made during the Danish occupation of the district.

A long and animated discussion took place at a meeting of the Stratford-on-Avon Town Council, with regard to the recent application of Mr. Halliwell Phillips to autotype documents and records connected with the life and writings of Shakespeare preserved in his birthplace. Mr. Halliwell Phillips absolutely declined to carry out the work under the supervision of any Committee. The Corporation ultimately decided to refer to the General Purposes Committee the whole question of the safe keeping and custody of the Corporation and Shakesperian records deposited in the poet's birthplace.

The parish church of Farnborough, near Wantage, was reopened on All Saints' Day, after restoration. The chancel has been repaired, all the external walls have been cleaned from plaster, exhibiting the old flint work. An Early English window, which has been hidden by stucco and whitewash, has been discovered, restored, and filled with glass bearing the design of a lily. The companion window on the south side was too much mutilated to be so treated, and the outline merely is preserved. The chancel arch was in a ruinous state, and in the course of repairs was found to be built of Early English sepulchral slabs. Above the arch, built in with rubble, was discovered an Early English piscina, which is now restored to its original place.

Under the title of the "Leicestershire Gleaner," a local Notes and Queries column has been commenced in the *Leicester Chronicle and Mercury* (Nov. 10th). It is edited by a well-known Midland antiquary.

At the meeting of the Maryland Historical Society on November 12th, the first volume was presented of a collection of the State Archives which is being undertaken by a Committee of the Society, with pecuniary assistance from the legislature. It consists of an accurate transcript of the proceedings and acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, from January 1637 to September 1664. Many of the original documents were preserved only in the Public Record Office, where their existence was revealed by Mr. Noel Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers. The editor of the collection is Dr. William Hand Browne.

A special meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America was held in Boston recently, to receive the report of Mr. Joseph T. Clarke, the chief of the Assos Expedition, which successfully closed its labours on the field early in the summer. As now laid open, Assos presents the best existing example of an ancient Greek city, and its ruins have given invaluable information as to many points of ancient architecture and modes of life. Being a provincial town of no great importance, besides having been probably robbed by the Persians in revenge for their discomfiture at the hands of the European Greeks, Assos does not seem to have contained many works of art, and most of the sculptures secured by the expedition are from the archaic temple on the Acropolis of the city. A few marble heads of later date were, however, found, together with many terra-cotta figures, and a considerable number of coins not hitherto known. Among

the contents of the boxes are fragments enough of the temple order to permit a complete order to be set up in the Museum of Fine Arts, which will be for the present the custodian of the property, and a complete account of the work of the expedition is in course of preparation by Mr. Clarke.

The reparation of the south aisle of Selborne Church has been completed, and opened with the harvest thanksgiving. Every feature has been exactly replaced; and the old surface of the stonework, except where whitewashed, has been left, as far as possible, untouched. In taking down the work, jambs of old windows were discovered *in situ*, together with pieces of tracery heads built into rebuilt parts, and these have been reconstructed in the place of the two modern windows.

The local antiquarian collections of Mr. George Payne, junior, have been rejected as a gift by the town of Sittingbourne, and, in consequence, are ceded to the National Museum, where, under the superintendence of Mr. Augustus Franks, they will be made accessible to the world, which thus gains by the insensibility of Sittingbourne, and by the equal insensibility of Rochester, which, it is said, might have been equally favoured with Sittingbourne, had it a place ready to receive the collections. Mr. G. Payne did not wait for another refusal. Sittingbourne and its vicinity have been remarkable for their Roman and Saxon antiquities. We need go no further than to the *Collectanea Antiqua* and *Archæologia Cantiana* in order to estimate their priceless historical and artistic value. The remains figured in the former work, once in the possession of the late Mr. Valence, are dispersed, and gone nobody knows where. It was the same with subsequent discoveries until, happily, Mr. George Payne came into the neglected archaeological field and gathered for science what others could neither value nor understand. From this ignorance Kent has lost all its chief archaeological treasures. Canterbury, no doubt, should have secured the Fausset collections, now (by the liberality of Mr. Joseph Mayer) in the Liverpool Museum, by the side of Mr. Rolfe's collections, which Sandwich could not comprehend the value of. The collections of the late Rev. J. Woodruff, of Upchurch, are removed from the county, as well as others, and not likely to return. We must not omit to allude to the Saxon remains discovered by Douglas on Chatham Lines, which led to his folio work, the *Nenia Britannica*, and the gatherings of the late Mr. Crafter, of Gravesend. It must be considered that all this is done in an age of archaeological research, when it is supposed to be a disgrace not to know something of monuments which lead to a more correct knowledge of the history of our country.

The prospectus of the Oxford Historical Society has been issued, and it claims support from all who are interested in such a wide field as is represented by the scheme shadowed forth by the late John Richard Green. A large and influential committee has been formed, and prospectuses may be obtained from the Bodleian Library.

Dr. F. Lippmann is editing a reproduction in facsimile of ninety-nine drawings by Albrecht Durer,

consisting of the drawings in the royal print-room, Berlin, in the collection of Mr. William Mitchell, in the collection of Mr. John Malcolm, of Portalloch, and in the collection of Mr. Frederick Locker. Messrs. Williams and Norgate are the publishers.

St. Kew Church, Cornwall, says a local paper, might well serve as a model for all church restorations. The architect, Mr. Hine, of Plymouth, has done his work with a delicacy, taste, devoutness, and conservative feeling, which makes one passionately regret the way in which dozens of our churches have been mutilated, modernized, and denuded of every feature of interest, by dull and spiritless renovations. Even St. Neot scarcely possesses a window to compare for richness and beauty with the Passion window at the end of the north aisle. This window was formerly dispersed in fragments through other parts of the church, and has now been pieced together for the first time with exquisite patience, skill, and success. The subjects of the various scenes, from the Triumphal Entry to the Ascension, are given in quaint Old English, not (as usual) in Latin. One light represents the Harrowing of Hell with strange vigour, and in one of the upper lights appears the famous beast which in mythical times haunted the neighbouring woods, till it was slain by the doughty Dame Lanow. At the end of the south aisle are left a few fine figures of what must have been a noble Jesse-window. At the opening, by the Lord Bishop of Truro, the ancient silver-gilt chalice of the parish was used for the first time for a very long period; of extraordinary design, standing more than a foot in height, the bowl of which was formerly an ostrich's egg (a fine crystal glass of the same shape now occupies its place), strengthened by flying ribs of silver, which run out to a deep silver rim, it is one of the greatest ecclesiastical art treasures of the county. The Passion window referred to was made in the middle of the fifteenth century, the Chalice, towards the close of the sixteenth century. The church was at one time rich in carved woodwork, existing fragments of which, belonging to the screens and seats, have been carefully worked in. The ancient wagon roofs, in which there is much carving and some original colour, have only been repaired where necessary. At the foot of each rafter in the central roof is an angel. The original massive south door, with its hinges and fastenings, has been preserved. In the porch outside are the remains of a stoup, and here are still kept the parish stocks.

The quaint little church of Woodcote has been reopened after having been restored. The church still retains evidence of a very early foundation, the first building dating from the twelfth century. The south doorway indicates the transitional character of Norman developing into the Early English Gothic. So closely allied are the character and details of the doorway to those of the ruined Abbey of Lilleshall, it may be inferred that both were erected by the same builders. The other portions of this Norman fabric still traceable are parts of the north and west walls and ancient plinth. The church probably remained as founded until the latter part of the fourteenth century, when the Norman roof and east window were renovated in the then peculiar type of Gothic, the narrow Norman east window being replaced with perpendicular tracery,

and an elaborate oak panelled roof with exterior battlemented parapet walls erected, and the floor laid with coloured encaustic tiles of good character, remains of these being found in the recent restoration. At the close of the seventeenth century the church would appear to have been again in the builder's hands, and every feature worth preserving, with the single exception of the east window, was destroyed.



Correspondence.

VIKING SHIP AT CHRISTIANIA.

(*Ante*, iv. 255.)

May I correct an error—doubtless clerical only—in Vol. IV. of *THE ANTIQUARY*? In the article on the Viking ship found at Christiania, it is stated that the rudder "is not fastened on the extreme stern, but to the larboard side."

The rudder is on the *starboard* side, and the error above cited is unfortunate, as the starboard side of a ship is thus defined in consequence of the *steorbord* (= rudder) always having been placed—in the Viking ships—on the right hand side.

FREDERICK DAVIS.

Palace Chambers, St. Stephen's, S.W.
Nov. 10th, 1883

THE FAMILY OF GREEN.

Could any of your correspondents favour me by saying how the connecting link is established between the family of Green, of Northants, and the branch at Water Orton and Wyken, Warwickshire; and also inform me regarding the remote origin of the Northamptonshire Greens, one pedigree of whom commences with Alexander de Boketon, who recovered the advowson of Boughton, 1202, and the other a generation earlier with Greene, of Orpidell or Oxpidell, co. Dorset?

The two pedigrees coincide in one Thomas (*temp.* Edward II., called in one Greene, in the other De Boketon), whose marriage with the daughter of Ivo Zouch, of Harringworth, identifies him. The Christian names thence ascending for two generations are identical, then upwards differ. Orpidell, or even Thorpe-in-the-dell, is unrecorded in Dorset.

And can Boketon be Boc-ton, Boc being a description of Saxon tenure?

GENESIS.

PARK OF THAT ILK.

I would be much obliged if any of your readers could inform me where I could find the descent of Park of that Ilk, back from William Park of that Ilk, who died in the reign of James IV., and left three daughters. And according to Crawford's *Genealogical History of the Stewarts* (1710) was the last of this family.

A. V.

BRITISH OR ROMAN-BRITISH REMAINS
NEAR BICESTER.

(viii. 156.)

The remains of which Mr. Foster has given so careful a description may perhaps be compared with those alluded to by Dugdale as discovered in the neighbouring county of Warwickshire in 1677. I am not aware whether there is any subsequent description of them. Dugdale writes from Blyth Hall to Anthony à Wood, 23rd Aug., 1677:—

The last weeke here was an intelligent person wth me, who being not many days since wth Colonell Archer at Tanworth (*sic*) in this countie (who is well known to Mr. Sheldon), saw a notable discoverie in Tanworth (*sic*) herdsip, by the digging for marle to manure Mr. Archer's land, viz., a campe of about a mile in circumference, wherein are now growing divers great old oaks; and wthin or near it, about six foot deep from the surface of the ground, a trench of about 18 foote wide and 35 yards in length, wherein the bodies of a multitude of men have been buried (he thinks two thousand), for the blacknesse of the earth occasioned by the putrefaction of the flesh wth the bones, is (as he says) about 4 foot in depth. Amongst them they have found a speare head of iron, much eaten wth rust; and in this digging, have taken up divers potshards, some of large magnitude, and about two inches thick. I have a great minde to see the place; therefore if you come hither, upon your returne, I will accompany you thither (it being about 9 myles hence, and not much out of your way back to Weston). These were doubt lesse slayne in some battell, and in the time of the Romans Saxons, or Danes; for I cannot heare that there is any tradition thereof amongst the neighbouring inhabitants.*

To this the Editor adds, in a foot-note, that

There is a marvellous account of another discovery, of a similar kind, on the same estate, a few years later, viz., "about the year 1685," in that farrago of superstition and credulity, *Aubrey's Miscellanies*, 2nd Edition, p. 112, where for Tanworth read Tanworth.

J. H. ROUND.

FRATERNITY OF ST. JOHN'S BOTHE.

I have met with a document, which purports to be a copy of a deed indented of the 8th Henry VII., being a grant or licence to three persons, wardens of the fraternity of the bothe, called St. John's Bothe, and their successors, as to all other of the said fraternity, into a certain barn yearly for evermore on the Vigil of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; to enter, and therein to hold and occupy the said bothe the space of three days and two nights, with free going to and out with their bread, ale, and other necessities for them and all other coming to the said bothe, there to abide during the said space, without interruption, etc.

Can any of your readers say what this fraternity, and its object, were? and whether the right to "occupy" for such a space of time was an ancient custom, and for what purpose? or how?

E. K., F.S.A.

SUCCESSION THROUGH FEMALES.

[*Ante*, viii. 183, 229, 270.]

Mr. Round has started a theory of what I must call, for want of a better term, spasmodic politics. Stephen, he says, became king because he was popular and Maud was unpopular. But I would observe that it is to the Normans that we essentially owe the rigidity of law and custom in matters of succession, and it is

* *Dugdale's Life and Correspondence* (1897), p. 414.

open to question whether they would be the first to sanction an innovation which had no foundation whatever in political thought. If Mr. Round will again refer to my paper he will find I rested my main argument for a survival of primitive politics upon Stephen succeeding through his mother, the daughter of the Conqueror, and the question of "sister's son" was subsidiary to this. The same ideas that brought about the Salic law operated against Matilda, as they did later on against Arthur's sister. But if the daughter could not reign herself, her son could. Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of William I., was nearer in the succession than Henry, son of Maud, grand-daughter of William I., and moreover he had arrived at man's estate, and Henry was an infant. I must, however, thank Mr. Round for his very friendly criticism. He sets an example how to thrash out the truth of things.

G. L. GOMME.

ELIZABETHAN CARTOGRAPHERS.

(*Ante*, viii. 212.)

In the article on the Elizabethan Cartographers, it is stated that William Smith, Rouge Dragon in the reign of Elizabeth, left a number of views of the towns of England, and among them a bird's-eye view of *Cambridge*.

It would appear, however, that these were not published in his time, but remained in MS. till privately printed in 1879.

The view of Cambridge is stated to have been apparently taken from one by Richard Lyne, dated 1574.

Now I possess an ancient view of Cambridge which must be very much of that date, inasmuch as it was taken before the foundation of Emmanuel College, which took place in 1584. There is no name of the author attached to my view, which is the case in Lyne's, but on its face it bears an inscription.

The dimensions of my view are 10 x 7 inches.

I shall be glad if the writer of the paper above alluded to, or any of your readers, will enable me to ascertain the author of my view.

JOHN STACYE.

The Governor's Lodge, Shrewsbury Hospital,
Sheffield.

"DELIGHTED SPIRIT."

(*Ante*, viii. 200.)

I should be sorry to think that the ingenious emendation of "Measure for Measure," iii., i, 121, communicated by Mr. Wheatley, and mentioned with qualified approval by a leading literary journal, had any chance of supplanting the old reading.

The point of the passage seems to me to lie in the contrast between the feeling of reality and certainty as to this life, and the feeling of unreality and uncertainty as to the state after death,—between the youthful Claudio's healthy consciousness of vital energy and the vague dread which death inspires in a mind not fortified by religion ("The weariest and most loathed *worldly* life . . . is a paradise to what we fear of death"). If then with Schmidt we take

delighted spirit to mean "the spirit having the power of giving delight, rich in delight,"—just as we have had the contrast between the "sensible warm motion" and the "kneaded clod," so we have that between the emphatic enjoyment of existence and the shadowy terrors for which this enjoyment is to be exchanged, when the spirit shall no longer be *delighted*. I would, in passing, ask readers of Mr. Wheatley's note to look up the other instances of the word *delighted* in this sense quoted by Schmidt *s.v.*, as well as his remarks on this class of adjectives "derived from nouns by means of the suffix *ed*," on p. 1417 of his Shakespeare Lexicon, where he aptly cites as the best commentary on the expression in question the verses of the Emperor Hadrian. Now, all the force of this contrast is lost if we adopt the conjecture *deleted* which Mr. Wheatley advocates. *Deleted* no doubt means destroyed, blotted out, or annihilated (to say that it means "blotted out of the book of life" is surely, to say the least, rather a forced interpretation), but if the spirit were to be annihilated, what terrors could the "fiery floods," "thick ribbed ice," or "viewless winds" have for it?

Lastly, I must confess that so far as I understand Mr. Wheatley's reference to the older spelling of *delighted*, his remarks make against the proposed emendation rather than in favour of it. "If we think merely of the recognised spelling of the word *delighted*," says Mr. Wheatley, "we shall find that there are three letters to alter, but if we take the older spelling *delited* the change [from *deleted* to *delited* or *vice versa*?] is easily made"; granted, but the fact remains that the folio prints *delighted*, and therefore if the "copy" had *deleted* the compositor must have made the less easy change of the two.

HERBERT A. EVANS.

I venture to make a suggestion *apropos* Mr. Wheatley's interesting article on "Measure for Measure." It is highly important in these matters to consider the poetical imagery and context; and to avoid as much as possible altering the spelling of words, except in reverting to first forms. (How is it in the editions of the early part of the seventeenth century?)

Why not use "light" in the sense of "alighting,"—of a spirit wandering aimlessly in space—

... Imprisoned in the viewless winds?

But there was no "lighting" for this de-lighted spirit, driven from "fiery flood" to "regions of thick ribbed ice,"—

And blown with restless violence round about
The pendant world. . . .

The word is so suggestive, and to-day is oftener applied to the flight and settling of birds than aught else. "To reside" in the next line is not an idea of permanency.

Mr. Wheatley all but suggests it in the form of a spirit devoid of celestial light—"delighted" in opposition to "deform," which is in harmony with the subject.

Linnburn.

D. Y. CLIFF.

I agree with Mr. Wheatley in rejecting the explanation of the word "delighted" given by Warburton and Stevens,—"*accustomed to delights*"—sanctioned although it appears to be by Dyce in his Glossary. But I also feel a difficulty in accepting your correspondent's suggestion of *deleted*, in the sense of "deleted out of the Book of Life," because the word standing alone does not appear to me to be tolerant of such a sense.

It is with considerable hesitation that I venture to try my hand where my betters have failed; but may not *delated*, in its original sense of *carried away* (*defero delatus*) be the right word? Latham and Richardson quote Bacon as using it in this sense. In "Othello," III. 2, the word seems to be used in its secondary sense of *accusations*.

The meaning thus is plain. The body becomes a "kneaded clod"; the spirit *carried away* "To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside," etc.

FREDERICK HOCKIN.

Phillack Rectory.

THE TALBOTS OF MALAHIDE.

There has recently appeared in an American newspaper an important article on the above subject, which is likely to interest not only the members of the Archaeological Institute, of which the late Lord Talbot de Malahide was for so many years President, but also antiquaries generally. But I am anxious to know if it is correct in its statement that "Henry II. created Richard de Talbot, who is mentioned in the (*sic*) Domesday Book, Lord of Malahide." If, as I believe, some ninety years intervened between the compilation of Domesday and Henry's visit to Ireland, this must be a case of longevity of the very highest interest. Also, can any of your readers inform me when and how this creation was effected, as I have been unable to find any record of it in works on the peerage? I am desirous, moreover, of consulting "the (*sic*) Domesday Book," which must, I think, be some record different from our Domesday Survey, for the same writer informs us that Archbishop Tait found the names of his parishioners, in his first cure, "just the same as they had been in the Domesday Book,"—a most interesting fact, which I should be very glad to verify. I was sorely puzzled, at first, by the insinuation that the "first Lord" Talbot de Malahide (*i.e.* the late lamented President of the Institute) used to "eat his dinner with his fingers," but it has since occurred to me that the writer may be alluding to the venerable patriarch so created, in his old age, by Henry II., as I perceive that he describes his wife as "her grace (*sic*) the first Baroness de Malahide."

I should be grateful to any one who could clear up these points.

ANTIQUARIAN.

OSEMUND.

[*Ante*, viii. 153.]

Mr. Edward Peacock, in his able article in THE ANTIQUARY for October last, refrains from making any suggestion as to the origin of the word Osemund (*Osemund*). I do not know what derivation has

occurred to him, and therefore I would mention, as worthy of consideration, the fact that in Worcester's English Dictionary, "Osmunder" is given as one of the names of Thor, with the remark that *mund* is expressive of force or power. On what authority Worcester applies that name to the god I cannot say, nor do I find it so applied in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, but there is a passage in this work relating to Thor which may throw light on its meaning. We are told that Thor was the true national god of the Norwegians, and that "*Asmegin*, Divine strength, is understood chiefly of him" (*Stallybrass*, Trans., vol. i., p. 188). Thor's hammer, the symbol of his power, was originally the thunderbolt, and therefore of stone, which the word *hamar* at first signified. The god could, however, only grasp his weapon with gauntlets of iron, and the Eddic narrative of the manufacture of the hammer by the dwarf Sindri shows that at an early date it was regarded as made of iron. I find from a trade list that although there is no place in the Scandinavian Peninsula where iron is manufactured called Osmund, yet the word *hammar* not uncommonly forms part of the names of such places there. The opinion that the name Osmund is connected with Thor is confirmed by the fact that one of the sons of the god by the giantess Jarnsaxa (Iron-stone) was called *Modi* (Courage). Now, *Modi* is only a personification of one of the characteristics of Thor himself, and hence the latter might well be called Asamodi, by analogy to Asathor, the name by which he was known as the Prince of the Ases. Grimm mentions (*Stallybrass*, i. 25) the name Asmundr among the old Norse proper names, containing the term for god. Among the Germans that name would probably take the form Osmund; as in Bavaria Ase Wodan has become Oswald. We may illustrate the application of the name Osmundr to Thor by a similar case in relation to Odin. His son Sigi was called also Sigimund, and Sigmundr was a surname of Odin himself (*Stallybrass*, i. 371). I would add that possibly a connection could be found between the German Osemund and the Egyptian Osymandias (Usmandi), who is identified by Creuzer with Memnon, and by Dupins with the sacred goat Mendes, the soul of Osiris; but I forbear from entering on so wide a field of enquiry.

C. STANILAND WAKE.

MILLER'S THUMB.

[*Ante*, viii. 231.]

Penwith inquires the meaning of the phrase. When I was collecting notes for my book on *Folk Medicine*, recently published by the Folk-lore Society, Mr. Gomme sent me the following extract from the *Diary of A. de la Pryme*, page 90:—"1696, April 16. —I was with an old experienced fellow to-day, and I was showing him several great stones as we walked, full of petrified shell-fish. He said he believed they are 'greuth' stone, and that they were never fish. Then I asked him what they called them; he answered 'Milner's Thumbs,' and adds that they are the excellent things in the whole world, being burnt and beat into powder, for a horse's sore

back; it cures them in two or three days." I used this reference on pp. 146-147 of *Folk Medicine*.

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK.

Glasgow.

EARLY CONSERVANCY OF RIVERS.

[*Ante*, viii. 250.]

I am glad to see Mr. Hubert Hall article on this subject in your last issue. Rivers were the early highways of this, as indeed of most other countries. The laws and regulations concerning them are full of interest, and likewise of instruction. The legislation affecting the question is indeed almost endless. Then there are the collateral rights of mills, fisheries, swanneries, ferries, privileges of ballast, obligations of beacons, lights, etc. I have been engaged, on and off, for some years in investigating these. The results will some day appear in your pages, or elsewhere.

CORNELIUS WALFORD.

London, Dec. 1883.

A CORRECTION.

[*Ante*, viii. 122.]

If not too late, I would correct an error in your notice of the Surrey Archaeological Excursion in July last. Speaking of the memorial chapel and monument in Godstone Church, it should be, instead of *Barclay, Macleay*, "the wife of Mr., now Sir George, Macleay, Knight, of Kendell Court, Bletchingley, and Elizabeth Bay, Sydney, New South Wales, who was Barbara St. Clair Innes, daughter of James Innes, D.L., of Thrumster, Caithness."

W. P. IV.

ARE THERE MANY FEMALE PARISH CLERKS?

In a hundred or more replies to an advertisement recently addressed to parish clerks, I only know of one, which is from a village in Essex, and which after giving some information says, "You may be Surprized that a Women Should seachres (*sic*) the Books, but my Husband had been Church Clark over 30 years, but died 7 months ago, and I still keep on the Clearkship till another is apointed, and I am a *German*, so that I may not Spell some of the things right, except whot I coppey. I remain, Sir, yours truly, Anna Howard."

W. P. J.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

G. F. MOORE.—We will endeavour to meet your wishes. Your idea of the British Museum collection is excellent, though it is already partly carried out in the published catalogues.

JOHN MARTINE.—We are exceedingly obliged for your valuable account of Haddington Custom Stone.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Weiss's French Protestant Refugees, 2s. Chatham Miscellanies, V., 6s. Sussex Archaeological Collections, XI., 3s. 6d.—Mrs. Scarlett, Boscombe Manor, Bourne-mouth.

A set of Sotheran & Co.'s Edition of Richardson's works, edited by Leslie Stephen, in 12 volumes, bound in half morocco, marbled edges. Copy Number 9 can be seen at the Office of the ANTIQUARY. Price complete £7 7s. Apply to the Manager, ANTIQUARY Exchange Department.

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